

THE
Freemens' Magazine:

OR, THE
Constitutional Repository.

CONTAINING,

A free Debate concerning the CAUSE of
LIBERTY; consisting of all the Papers
published in the London News-Papers,
from Northumberland and Newcastle, or
the County of Durham, from the sending
of Instructions to the Newcastle Members
of Parliament, till this present Time.

Quisnam igitur liber? Sapiens qui imperiosus
Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vincula terrent:
Responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores
Fortis, & in seipso totus teres, atque rotundus:
————— Eripe turpi
Colla Juga: Liber liber sum dic age.

HORACE.

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE:

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MDCCLXXIV.

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AN Ode to Liberty
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For the NEWCASTLE MAGAZINE.

HAIL sacred Liberty ! immortal name,
A Briton's life, his glory, and his fame.
For thee, (whoe'er oppose) we'll fight our way,
And at thy shrine victorious trophies lay.
What though thou'rt banish'd from *Britannia's* court,
Let *Tyne's* resplendent banks be thy resort.
Thither thy sons to thee will all repair ;
Nor one imperious pup molest thee there.
For thee they'll temples build and altars raise,
And daily offer incense to thy praise.
They know thy works ; thy suff'rings too they know,
The bleeding wounds the *impious* great bestow,
With bandages of love, those wounds they'll cure,
No longer shall thou *galling chains* endure.
By *Tyne's* fair stream bright science deigns to dwell,
Her sons in every glorious art excel.
Upon her banks in beauteous pomp array'd,
Ensigns of god-like freedom are display'd ;
Her faithful friends dare every danger brave,
No name's so *hateful* to them as *the slave*.

But hark ! what grateful sounds salute my ear ?
Behold *Northumbria's* freeborn sons appear.
Their souls with inward greatness soar on high,
And bear bright freedom's banners to the sky.
They know the wish'd-for crisis is at hand,
When *Britons* ought to make a glorious stand ;
With virtuous zeal to check oppression's rage,
And stem the venal torrent of the age.

For the NEWCASTLE MAGAZINE.

To chuse such members as they *safe* can trust,
Whose souls are honest, gen'rous, brave and just,
Who will condemn the *ministerial* tribe,
And spurn the man who *dares* present a bribe.

On such, my friends, let *all* your voices fall,
The cause is glorious, glorious is the call.
Obey the call; defend the glorious cause;
Support with zeal your *liberties* and *laws*.

Who'd live to be that wretched *thing* a *slave*,
Depriv'd of all that's noble, great, and brave,
Be kick'd and spurn'd by each imperious *thing*,
Who proudly boasts the favours of a king.
Britons to tyrants *ne'er* will bend the knee,
They know they *are*, they *must*, and *will be free*.

Oh hear our pray'r, thou great *Almighty Lord*,
Who canst alone the wish'd-for aid afford;
Britannia's sons with *inspiration* move,
To *virtuous* freedom, and their *country's* love.
Hexham.

J. W.



INTRODUCTION.

SINCE the reign of the execrated family of the *Stuarts*, there never has been so great necessity for informing the free subjects of *Great Britain* concerning the danger of their liberties, as in the present reign. All former attempts to enslave these kingdoms, had their rise from jacobites, influenced by *France*, and headed by a popish pretender; and the designs of those enemies, to *British* liberties, were so glaring, and so openly avowed, that they could deceive none, except such, as from their infancy, had been educated in the principles of slavery. All the friends of the revolution, shuddered at the thoughts of embracing a government, which had, during four reigns, oppressed every subject in *Britain*; and had almost compleated the ruin of both religion and the laws of these kingdoms. The two daring, unnatural rebellions were therefore easily quelled; for the friends of the revolution, animated with the love of freedom, and an aversion to a family, which had made their ancestors suffer so severely, joined unanimously in supporting the common cause, against the rebellious promoters of the interest of a popish pretender.

The two illustrious princes of the *Brunswick* family, who, before the present reign, succeeded to the *British* throne, were persons of great capacity, and true friends to the *English* constitution. They were well acquainted with the struggles that had been made, for the support of the civil and religious liberties of *England*, and had

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borne a part therein themselves; they, therefore, during their whole reigns, were careful to promote, to the management of public affairs, such persons as were known to be real friends to the principles of the *Hanoverian* succession. Jacobites, or men of suspicious principles, were, during those reigns, kept at a distance from the councils of the sovereign; and the high offices of state, were committed to the care of men, whose principles were well known, and whose regard for the revolution, had been tried by infallible proofs. It was not, till the death of the last of those illustrious princes, that the sons of rebellion durst approach the *British* throne. The friends of the abdicated family, were obliged to sculk in retirement, either in foreign countries, or in secret at home, till an opportunity should happen, more favourable to their designs, and agreeable to their wishes.

Providence, for a scourge to these lands, for not being thankful for their former mercies, deprived *Britain* of *George* the second, and, by a number of unforeseen circumstances, brought about, to the enemies of our constitution, the long-wished-for period of jacobite preferment. The royal fabric of the best of kings, was scarcely deposited in the grave, when, on a sudden, a preferment was made, which then was ominous, and since has been fatal to *British* liberty. If the history of our times, may in the least be depended upon, or if there is any truth in public testimony, a Thane was preferred to the leading management of public affairs, who had given very evident proofs of an attachment to the family, to which he is said to be very
nearly

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nearly allied. This preferment was succeeded with the dismissal of many of the ancient friends of the revolution and the house of *Hanover*, from offices, which they long discharged with reputation, and fulfilled, to the honour of their princes, and the satisfaction of the nation. In consequence of this, the sons of those who had drawn their swords against their country, and rebelled against their sovereign, began to teem in from the colder regions of the *North*, to bask in the warmer climate of *South Britain*, under the benign influence of *this chief* of their own principles.

The army, navy, and parliament, soon began to swarm with officers, who, not many years before, had given signatures of a temper of mind very unfavourable to the *Hanoverian* succession.

The chief government of the best places in the *East* and *West Indies*, were now conferred upon a race of men, whose principles were, at least, very suspicious; and those who were disposed to bow to the nod of the favourite, were put in possession of the most lucrative places in the army and navy. A baronet, who before was in the meanest state of dependence, was made victualler to the army, who, in conclusion, by his art of jockeying, amassed a large ministerial fortune, and now represents a city of no small consideration in *North Britain*.

The friends of *English* liberty had reason to be jealous at the ruling partiality which now prevailed at the court of a king, who was the darling of his people, and had, by his speech from the throne,

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throne, flattered them with the largest professions of royal care and affection. This jealousy, which was but too well founded, animated some persons of daring intrepidity, to expose, in periodical papers, the errors of the minister, and the partiality of the sovereign. The strictures which were given upon characters, and the ludicrous representation of some great persons, with a narrative of measures, which then prevailed, were exhibited in such bold attitudes, that the culprits were not able to endure the force of the ridicule which reflected from those exhibitions.

The prophesy of famine, the *North Britain*, with several other political papers, were paintings not to be tolerated, where power could do what law had forbidden. The principles of the *Stuarts* suggested a remedy, which had, during the days of the star-chamber and high commission courts, never failed to convince men of error. The doctrine of general warrants was revived, with all the forms of ancient tyranny. An order was issued from the secretary's office, to apprehend a supposed offender, with a design to find evidence in his own custody, to prove him guilty. His person was apprehended; his house plundered, and all his papers secured; his friends were refused admittance to see him, and the *English* privilege of *habeas corpus* denied him. Under this stretch of arbitrary authority, he suffered all the rigour of confinement, for being supposed the author of a libel, which the judge, who tried the cause, afterwards declared to be true; and of consequence, could be no libel.

A paper, said to be exceedingly prophane, being

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ing found locked up in his bureau, was determined by an act of judicature, to be published by him, though it was manifest, that it was as secretly kept, as it was possible for locks and keys to secure it. For publishing of which, he was deeply fined, and suffered a long imprisonment: Every stretch of prerogative was used to persecute Mr Wilkes. He was out-lawed when in distress, for not appearing to a citation, when the best authority declared it was impossible for him to appear without endangering his life. This out-lawry, which was past contrary to the laws of the constitution, was repealed to his honour, and the shame of his enemies. But the influence which formed the principles of this reign, appeared most conspicuously, in the affair of the *Middlesex* election. A member was admitted into the house of commons, in opposition to Mr Wilkes, and the voices of three-fourths of the freeholders of that county, and determined to be the legal representative of *Middlesex*. By this new authority, the representatives of the people have taken upon them, both to elect members, and determine elections. It was in consequence of this arbitrary proceeding of the c——ns, that the nation petitioned for a dissolution of p——t. The burgesses of *Newcastle* were zealous in this cause, and joined to their petition, a warm remonstrance, which were presented to the s——n; and though, like all others of the same kind, they did not meet with a gracious reception, the subscribers have the satisfaction of considering, that they have done their duty. Under the displeasure of majesty, and deserted by their own

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representatives, the friends of liberty had no other relief, but to tell the world their distress, and how their minds were oppressed with the apprehensions of being enslaved. They published in the *London* news-papers, their occasional sentiments, to inform their friends and brethren of their fears, concerning the public interest. They have, in the most public manner, told how their own members of parliament have used them; who, after they had sworn to be faithful to their constituents, pretended conscience for voting against their interests and sentiments. Such doctrine, with respect to conscience, tends to destroy every society under heaven: For as the duty of a member of parliament must always be to support the public interest, no principle of conscience can dissolve that obligation. If he cannot serve his constituents, he ought to resign his office; for there is no law of nature or society, that can justify any person's holding an office, when he cannot, in conscience, fulfil it. A member of parliament ought to have no mental reservation.

The editors of this magazine are moved to this publication from a principle of regard to their fellow citizens, who certainly ought to know the reasons upon which their own rights and liberties are founded. The danger of our becoming slaves, is at present greater than in the years 1715 and 1745. The laws have of late been frequently warped by interested men to infringe liberty, and there is at least some supposed colour of law for the encroachments upon our national freedom. The people have now a legislative body to contend
with

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with, but in those rebellious periods they had king, lords, and commons upon their side; the army also was then on the side of the people, but now it is on the side of the crown, which throws a balance against civil liberty, when the court pleases to oppose it.

It is proposed to give both sides of this question a candid hearing, and to leave the public to determine which is right. We do not in the course of this work intend to enter into private quarrels, nor mean to disturb the repose of private persons: The cause is that of the public, and the debate shall rest there. Invidious anecdotes will be avoided, as the fair cause of liberty has no occasion for such dirty resources. No person who is not the leader of a company of offenders, shall meet with the smallest discomposure from the *Freemens' Magazine*: But such as are grown old and hackneyed in the practice of public corruption, even their grey-hairs shall not screen them from the just censure they deserve.—But at the same time, such as please to offer defences in their favour, shall find the same candour paid to them with others, according to the limits of this magazine. The infirmities of magistrates shall remain untouched, unless by prostituting their office by the neglect of their duty, they expose themselves. The editors of this paper pay the highest regard to lawful magistrates, and will defend them in the exercise of their duty as far as it is in their power; but will never for the sake of any office defend a public character, when it degenerates into negligence of duty, or gives countenance

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nance to oppression. This magazine is not merely intended for the amusement of the public, but is also designed for instruction and edification. It is therefore hoped, that nothing will be expected but what immediately tends to this end and purpose.



THE office of a public teacher, when it degrades into a mere office of a public teacher, is a disgrace to the office.

T H E

FREEMEN'S MAGAZINE.

An Account of the Proceedings of the Freemen of Newcastle, with Regard to the sending Instructions to their Representatives, with a Copy of the Instructions.

N the 15th of *April*, 1769, it was resolved, in a meeting of the free burgesses, that instructions be drawn up, and sent to the representatives of this corporation. A committee was appointed to draw up, and carry the same into execution. Mess. Thomas White, glazier, George Guthrie, mason, and Robert Reed, house-carpenter, were the persons chosen a committee for this purpose; who, on the *Saturday* following, went to the exchange with the following instructions, to consult with the magistrates, concerning having them signed, and sent to the members.

Instructions sent by the Freemen of Newcastle, to Sir Walter Blackett, Bart. and Matthew Ridley, Esq; Members of Parliament for Newcastle upon Tyne.

To Sir Walter Blackett, Bart. and Matthew Ridley, Esq; Representatives of the Town of Newcastle of Newcastle upon Tyne.

GENTLEMEN,

WE your constituents, the free burgesses of Newcastle upon Tyne, dutifully as-
A fectde

fect to his present most gracious Majesty, and zealously attached to his illustrious house, fully sensible of the value of the laws and constitution which we have derived from our ancestors, and firmly resolved to preserve this inheritance entire as we have received it, think it our indispensable duty at this time of national discontent, as it is our undoubted right to instruct you our representatives in parliament as follows:

1. That you carefully watch over that great bulwark of our liberties, the *habeus corpus* act, that you inquire into, and punish any attempt that may have been made to evade the force of that law.

2. That you endeavour to continue to us, and to confirm our old constitutional right of juries, that all trials for libels, and other criminal processes, be carried on agreeable to the known rules of the law; and that you zealously discourage all new modes of enquiries, unconstitutional tribunals, or new and unusual punishments, tending to take away or diminish the benefit of trial by juries.

3. That you preserve inviolate the privileges of parliament, as well as the right of the electors; that you use your utmost endeavours to prevent the expulsion of any man, who shall appear to you to have been elected by a majority of legal votes; and that at this time you exert yourselves in supporting this right to the freeholders of *Middlesex*, which we have observed of late repeatedly violated.

4. That you most earnestly promote a bill or bills for shortening the duration of parliaments;
for

for limiting the number of placemen ; excluding all pensioners and contractors ; and that the bribery oath be administered to the candidates as well as electors

5. That you use your utmost endeavours to put the civil magistracy of this kingdom on a more respectable footing, and thereby remove the pretence of calling in a military force ; and preserve this nation from a calamity which has already been fatal to the liberties of every kingdom around us, and which we at this time are beginning to feel.

6. That you use your best endeavours for having a standing committee appointed, to examine the state of the public accounts.

7. That you exert all your abilities to support and extend the trade and manufactures of this nation in every branch ; and that you will heartily join in all measures for reconciling the unhappy differences subsisting between this kingdom and its colonies.

8. That you will oppose the giving public money for the purposes of creating new and unnecessary places, for the augmentation of the salaries of old ones, or for the grant of pensions to the members of both or either house of parliament.

9. That you give no countenance to the dangerous doctrine of constructive treasons, or to the application of doubtful or uncertain laws to this interesting object, nor suffer ministers to be invested with a vague and discretionary power of judging on, or prosecuting this offence.

10. We leave it to your consideration whether
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any redress can be obtained in behalf of the subject, for the better security of their properties against the secret attacks of the most dissolute and abandoned of the people; who, from a resolution of never submitting to any honest or useful employment, betake themselves to the practice of lodging informations in the court of exchequer, of pretended illegal commerce practised by individuals; whereby, from the mode of procedure in that court, both the innocent and the guilty are generally subjected to equal punishment and distress.

Finally, We desire you to accept our most sincere thanks for your unwearied diligence in opposing the bill for extending the *Coventry* canal to *Oxford*; and though your endeavours have not met with the desired success, yet we are persuaded, from the great diminution of shipping that must necessarily be occasioned thereby, future administrations will revive this object, and aid your measures in supporting and encouraging that great nursery of *English* security and strength, the coal trade.

A Copy of a Letter to the Mayor, &c. of Newcastle upon Tyne.

To the Right Worshipful John Baker, Esq; and other Free Burgesses of Newcastle, who have been pleased to send Instructions to us.

GENTLEMEN,

The instructions which we have received from you, upon many constitutional points, we shall pay such attention and deference to, as is consistent with the freedom of judging; and, on all
oc-

occasions, inviolably persevere in a faithful discharge of our duty, as becomes the independent and uninfluenced representatives of the free burghesses of *Newcastle*.

We are, with the utmost respect and esteem,
gentlemen, your faithful and obedient humble
servants,

W. BLACKETT,
M. RIDLEY.

Newcastle, May 17, 1769.

The Observations of a Freeman, upon this Letter, will, we presume, not be unacceptable to some of our Readers.

I cannot hesitate a moment in determining this reply of our representatives absurd. Have they any freedom, as our servants, to vote or determine contrary to the interest and instructions of those who appointed them? If it be the right of societies, to give instructions to those who are appointed to manage their common concerns, it never can be the right of those, who are entrusted with their affairs, to act contrary to their direction. If the representatives of a community, cannot, in conscience, execute the orders of their constituents, they ought to resign their trust, and suffer others to supply their place. But to hold an office, which they receive by common consent, against the will and instructions of those who have elected them, is contrary to every principle of reason and common sense.

S— *W.* and Mr *R*— establish their right of judging, as a right superior to the freemens' right of instructing them, and plainly hint, that when they come in competition, they will prefer

fer their own right. It is well known what motives members of p——t sometimes have to determine them to prefer their right of judging to the peoples' right of instructing them. But the question is, Whether they have any such right, as to judge contrary to the rules of their instructions. When they make choice of a member of parliament, as individual freemen, they have a right, as single persons, to judge for themselves, and are not accountable, to any society, for their judgment. This is an individual right: But when they, as public persons, are chosen to manage for a whole body of men, they have no private judgement contrary to the sentiments of the community. The very election supposes that they are in trust, and obliged to act according to the rules of their election, and the oath which they engage in. If they cannot, with a good conscience, fulfil the ends of their election, let them resign; but, let them not pretend to usurp a power, which was never given them by nature, reason, or the constitution of England.

A FREEMAN.

The committee who carried the instructions, with a design to shew them to the aldermen, were treated on Exchange, with the greatest contempt; upon which the burgeses called another meeting, when it was agreed, that the committee should wait upon the worshipful magistrates by themselves, severally, and desire their answers. They waited first on *John Baker*, Esq; mayor, who signed the instructions as mayor.

They next waited upon alderman *B—*, with whom they had a very curious interview and dia-

dialogue. They told him, that they had brought the instructions to him, that he might honour them with his subscription, and desired him to read them. His answer was *NO*. *Mr White knew better than he*. *Mr White*, Sir, you should not pin your faith to any man's sleeve; you had better read them, there is nothing in them but what is reasonable. Alderman *B*—. Reason! What have I to do with reason? *White*, Pray, Sir, consider a little: *No, Sir; I'll shew you the way to the door*: Upon which he opened the door, and ordered them to be gone. This worthy magistrate reckoned himself insulted by the committee; for as they had not yet enjoyed the good fortune of being his equal in substance, he accounted it an insult, for mean labouring tradesmen, to approach his excellency. By all accounts, this able magistrate, has a great aversion to the poor, and an innate antipathy to beggars.

They next attended *A. M*—, whom they found walking in his garden, who was graciously pleased to read the instructions, but refused to sign them. He made an apology for refusing to sign the instructions, because he was a young magistrate, though he allowed the contents to be very just. They waited upon him a second time, but found him in the same mind as before, and so left him without any more altercation.

Mr P— cut them short at first, by refusing to read them, and told them, that the members knew better than they did what was their duty; and though they were never so just, he could not sign them.

Mr F—, after he had finished the ceremony

ny of taking a snuff, declared he had no objections to sign the instructions: *But you know*, said he, *I am young in office, and would have some other magistrate to sign before me.* The committee told him, that the mayor had set him an example, and he might follow him. He still affirmed he had no objection, but was afraid he would be blamed by some of his senior brethren.

Mr *S - fe*, with all the politeness of a gentleman, after judiciously offering his reasons, refused to sign the instructions, and his excuse, and the way in which he made it, did him honour.

They next waited upon Mr *S—s*, who said, that he did not chuse to sign the instructions, on account of his connections with government. It would have been ungentleel, and ill natured, to have urged him, when he was so polite as to give the true reasons of his refusal.

Mr *B—* did not behave so politely: He commended the members of parliament, and told the committee, that they had no right to instruct them. This was a full declaration of his sentiments, and savoured rather *too much* of an arbitrary disposition.

The committee next waited upon the several companies, when the instructions were signed by 627 freemen.

An Essay upon Constitutional Laws.

EVEYY person, who does not prefer private interest to common-weal, must be obliged to confess, that all men, before they enter into
so-

social compact, are equally free by nature; and that none have a right over the lives or properties of another. This is commonly called a state of nature, where all individuals are equal. But as the passions and appetites of the human race, oftentimes require that individuals, for the sake of others, and their own safety, be restrained, human wisdom, by the direction of providence, has devised certain laws, by which society, in different countries, is regulated. The wise application of those laws, by the officers whom the society appoints to administer them, is called sound policy. Every human law is a restraint upon natural liberty, and is formed for the sake of preserving the general rights of men, which unbounded desire would be ready to infringe. Those institutions, which guard against the invasion of natural rights, and yet leave society in possession of the largest extent of liberty, are the wisest and the best; for laws which preserve what nature gives to all individuals, in the fullest proportion, without danger to the community, must undoubtedly answer the purposes of society better than those which divest individuals of what nature has given them, to render a few of them dominators over the rest. The nearer that the proportion of the ranks of mankind are to one another, the stronger must the community be.

But as all countries have certain first principles, upon which they form their constitution; every law, subversive of those principles, tends to destroy society, and cannot be admitted, without danger to the constitution. All statutes,

agreeable to those first principles are called constitutional laws; and the society founded upon those principles, are bound to obey them: But when the deputies of the community frame institutions, contrary to the fundamental laws of the society, those statutes are not binding upon their constituents, who have not agreed to them; nor suppose they should agree, is it possible to have them executed, without demolishing their own constitution: For it can never be lawful for society to destroy itself.

It was from sentiments of this sort, that *England*, after mult trouble, and many struggles, settled her constitution upon the principles in *magna charta*, which, for many centuries, have been considered as the first principles of the constitution of this country. When those rules were invaded, during the reigns of the *Stuarts*, the nation returned to its first principles, by giving in a petition of right, which was confirmed by *Charles the first*: And, at the revolution, for the same reason, obtained a law of the like import, called the *bill of rights*. For the benefit of our readers, we shall insert first the petition, and next the *bill of rights*, that every man may see what are the principles of *English* liberty, and judge how far the modern statutes of the legislature are agreeable with those constitutional laws of this land.

The reader will perceive, that when this petition was granted, that the encroachments made upon the liberties of the people, were proved to be contrary to many acts of parliament, that confirmed the great charter of liberty, and which may be seen on the margin. *A*

A Copy of the Petition of Right.

To the King's most excellent Majesty,

“ **H**UMbly shew unto our sovereign lord the king, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament assembled, that, whereas it is declared and enacted by a statute, made in the time of the raigne of king *Edward* the first, commonly called *Statutum de Tallagio non concedendo* that no tallage or aide should be laid or levied, by the king or his heirs, in this realm, without the good-will and assent of the archbishoppes, bishoppes, earles, barons, knights, burgessees, and other the freemen of the cominalty of this realme: and by authority of parliament houlden in the five and twentieth yere of the raigne of king *Edward* the third, it is declared and enacted, that from thenceforth no person shall be compelled to make any loanes to the king against his will, because such loanes were against reason, and the franchise of the land; and by other lawes of this realme it is provided, that none shall be charged by any charge or imposition, called a benevolence, nor by such like charge, by which the statuts before-mentioned, and other good laws and statuts of this realme, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge, not sett by common consent in parliament.

Act. Pub.
xviii. p. 1010
Rushworth,
t. i. p. 588.
Annals,
p. 303.

“ Yet nevertheless of late, divers commissions, directed to sundrie commissioners in several counties, with instructions, have been issued, by
means

means whereof your people have bene in divers places assembled, and required to lend certain sums of money unto your majestie, and many of them upon their refusal soe to doe, have had an oath administred unto them, not warrantable by the laws or statuts of this realme, and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance, and give attendance before your privie-councell, and in other places, and others of them have bene therefore imprisoned, confined, and fundrie other wayes molested and disquieted: and divers other charges have been laid and leaved upon your people in severall counties, by lord-lieutenants, deputie-lieutenants, commissioners for musters, justice of peace, and others. by commaunde or direction from your majestie, or your privie-councell, against the lawes and free customes of the realme.

“ And where alsoe by the statute called, The greate Charter of the Liberties of England, it is declared and enacted, that
9 Hen. 3.
29. no freeman may be taken or imprisoned, or be disseized of his freehold or liberties, or his free customes, or be outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawfull judgment of his peeres, or by the lawe of the land.

“ And in the eight and twentieth yere of the reigne of king Edward the Third, it
28 Edw. 3.
3. was declared and enacted by authoritie of parliament, that no man of what estate or condition that he be, should be put out of his lands or tenements, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disherited, nor putt to death, without being

being brought to answer by due process of law.

“ Nevertheless against the tenor of the said statuts, and other the good lawes and statuts of your realme to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late beene imprisoned, without any just cause shewed; and when for their deliverance they were brought before your justices, by your majesty's writs of Habeus Corpus, thereto undergo and receive as the court should order, and their keepers commaunded to certify the causes of their detayner; noe cause was certified, but that they were detained by your majesties special commaund, signified by the lords of your privie-council, and yett were returned back to severall prisons without being charged with any thinge to which they might make answcare according to the law.

37 Edw. 3.
18.
38 Edw. 3.
9.
42 Edw. 3.
3.
17 Rich. 2.
6.

“ And whereas of late greate companies of souldiers and marriners have been disperfed into divers counties of the realme, and the inhabitants against their wills have beene compelled to receive them into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn, against the lawes and customes of this realme, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people.

“ And whereas alsoe by authority of parliament in the 25th yere of the raigne of king Edward III. it is declared and enacted, that noe man should be forejudged of life or lymbe, against the forme of the great charter, and the law of the land, and by the said great charter, and other

25 Edw. 3.
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9. Hen. 3.
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25 Edw. 3.
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28 Edw. 3.
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other the lawes and statuts of this your realme, no man ought to be adjudged to death, but by the lawes established in this your realme, either by the customes of the same realme, or by acts of parliaments: and whereas noe offender of what kind soever, is exempted from the proceedings to be used, and punishments to be inflicted by the lawes and statuts of this your realme; nevertheless of late time, divers commissions under your majesties great-seale have issued forth, by which certaine persons have been assigned and appointed commissioners, with power and authoritie to proceede within the land, according to the justice of martiall lawe against such souldiers and marriners, or other dissolute persons joyninge with them, as should commit any murder, robbery, felonie, mutiny, or other outrage or misdemeanor whatsoever; and by such summary course and order as is agreeable to martiall lawe, and as is used in armies in time of war, to proceed to the tryal and condemnation of such offenders, and them to cause to be executed and putt to death according to the lawe-martiall.

“By pretext whereof, some of your majesties subjects have bene by some of the said commissioners put to death, when and where, if by the laws and statuts of the land, they had deserved death, by the same lawes and statuts alsoe they might, and by noe other ought to have been judged and executed.

“And also sundrie grievous offenders by colour thereof, clayming an exemption, have escaped the punishments due to them by the lawes
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and statuts of this your realme, by reason that divers of your officers and ministers of justice have unjustly refused, or forborne to proceed against such offenders according to the same lawes and statuts, upon pretence that the said offenders were punishable only by martiall lawe, and by authority of such commissions as aforesaid; which commissions, and all others of like nature, are wholly and directlie contrary to the said lawes and statuts of this your realm.

“ They do therefore humbly pray ^{The petition} your most excellent majestie, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yeild any gift, loane, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by act of parliament; and that none be called to make answere, or take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confyned, or otherwise molested or disquieted concerning the same, or for refusall thereof; and that no freeman, in any such manner as before-mentioned, be imprisoned or detayned: and that your majestie would be pleased to remove the said souldiers and marriners, and that your people may not be burthened in the tyme to come: and that the aforesaid commissions for proceedinge by martiall lawe, may be revoaked and annulled; and that hereafter, no commissions of like nature may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever, to be executed as aforesaid, least by colour of them, any of your majesties subjects be destroyed or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.

“ All which they most humbly pray of your most excellent majestie, as their rights and liberties,

according to the laws and statuts of this realme: and that your majestie would alsoe vouchsafe to declare, that the awardest, doings and proceedings to the prejudice of your people in any of the premisses, shall not be drawne hereafter into consequence or that example: and your majesty would be also graciously pleased, for the further comfort and safetie of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure, that in the things aforesaid, all your officers and ministers shall serve you, according to the laws and statuts of this realme, as they tender the honour of your majesty and the prosperity of this kingdom "

The state of the nation, in the reign of *Charles*, was, perhaps, more convulsed, than it is at present; but the disease was not then so dangerous. Public virtue, and an attachment to common-weal, were more prevalent, and the method of managing members of parliament, by places and pensions, was not then devised. The sovereign, at this time, kept his favours for a few select persons; and neglected the commons; which, in the end, proved his own ruin. But at present, the representatives of the people, are more at the devotion of the court, and the cords of slavery, are formally twisted about the necks of the subjects, by a legislative power. It is now in the power of the — to make slavery as good law, as any in the statutes: For though no legislative authority can, lawfully, make statutes contrary to the principles of the *English* constitution; yet they can enforce their own acts, in the same manner, and destroy the efficacy of the one by the other. There is only one thing which remains, and is in
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the power of free *Englishmen* to do ; and that is, at the next general election, to refuse to be bribed, and to make choice of none to represent them in parliament, who will not give it under their hands publickly, that they will endeavour to have all those laws repealed which are contrary to the liberties of the subjects. If this is not done, the inhabitants of *Britain* must be slaves.

The real want of concern for national liberty is truly alarming ; and the changeableness of pretended patriots, argues a sad degeneracy of principle among persons in high rank. How frequently do we now see senators, who have harangued for hours in behalf of freedom, in the great assembly of the nation, become the bubbles of a minister, for a paultry pension, or the promise of a place ? It will be impossible to prevent this growing evil, unless the next parliament shall please to establish a law against all places and pensions being enjoyed by members of the house of commons.

A Copy of the Articles of the Bill of Rights.

“ 1. **T**HAT the pretended power of suspending of laws, or execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of parliament, is illegal.

“ 2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.

“ 3. That the commission for erecting the late court of commissions for ecclesiastical causes, and

all other commissions and courts of the like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

“ 4. That the levying of money for or to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of parliament, for longer time, or in any other manner than the same is, or shall be granted, is illegal.

“ 5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning, are illegal.

“ 6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law.

“ 7. That the subjects which are protestants, may have arms for their defence, suitable to their condition, and as allowed by law.

“ 8. That election of members of parliament ought to be free

“ 9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned, in any court or place out of parliament.

“ 10 That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

“ 11. That jurors ought to be duly empanelled, and returned ; and jurors, which pass upon men in trials for high-treason, ought to be freeholders.

“ 12. That all grants and promises. of fines and forfeitures of particular persons, before conviction, are illegal and void.

“ 13. And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserv-
ing

ing of the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently."

The following sensible Letter, directed to the Freeholders and Freemen, of the several Counties, Cities and Towns corporate, in Great Britain, occasioned by some late Proceedings at Elections of Parliament, particularly of the city of Durham, by a Freeholder of the County, and a legal Freeman of the City, will, we apprehend, be very acceptable to our Readers, as it discusses, in a manly and spirited Manner, the Rights of the Subjects, and exposes the present Theory of Electioneering, in a Style worthy of a first Writer.

GENTLEMEN,

THE generous struggle which hath been of late made, for the independency of the county and city of *Durham*; and the extraordinary attempts, which have been made to destroy it in both, are matters of too serious consideration to be passed over in silence.

A worthy freeman of *Newcastle* saw this so clearly, that soon after the last election at *Durham*, he addressed his brethren in a public manner, which, I humbly conceive, deserved their most particular notice, as well as that of their representatives, and body of magistracy: But, too melancholy it is, that nothing has been done in consequence of it; at least, nothing hath yet appeared to the public. I am, therefore, induced to address myself to the whole body of freeholders,

holders, and freemen, of the several counties, cities, and towns-corporate, in *Great-Britain*, and to offer some plain thoughts on the last proceedings at the election of a member for the city. I mean not to enter minutely into the merits of the case, as they are sufficiently known to many; and, by this time, I suppose, the true state is printed, and delivered to most of the supreme judges, before whom it is appointed to be heard, upon the fourth day of *May* next. At present, the proceedings complained of, appear the consequence of a manifest intention, to deprive the freemen of the city of *Durham*, of their ancient right of chusing their own representatives, and to invest the power in the magistrates only, or, perhaps, in the returning officer for the time being. But, before I proceed further, give me leave to premise, that it is not for the liberties and privileges of the city of *Durham* alone we are to contend, but it is for that liberty, which produces, to every *Englishman*, all civil virtue, happiness, and moral excellency; and the losing of which, would be followed by baseness and misery!

As one of the number 945 for the county, and a legal freemen of the city, I claim a right, and think it my duty, to protest, and to make some public remonstrance against the steps, which have been taken, to rob me of an immunity, which I have hitherto looked upon as of very considerable value. But, alas, gentlemen, without your assistance, what does this amount to? It lies upon you, to give motion to the machine. You are the first springs, and it is you only, who
must

must give life to the cause. I entreat you then, gentlemen, to be active in your respective counties, cities, and towns-corporate. Examine whether your representatives are, or are not, attending the public business of parliament; and, with all modesty and humility, let them know, it is their incumbent duty, to attend this public, this national concern. By parliaments (says a learned and ingenious author) "Liberty is preserved; and whosoever has the honour to sit in those assemblies, accepts of a most sacred and important trust; to the discharge of which, all his vigilance, all his application, all his virtue, and all his faculties, are necessary, and he is bound, by all the considerations, that can affect a worthy mind, by all the ties that can bind a human soul, to attend faithfully, and carefully upon this great and comprehensive duty: A duty, which, as it is honestly or faithfully executed, determines the fate of millions, and brings prosperity or misery upon nations." To this great and important duty, let us humbly implore their aid. We have conferred upon them the highest honour, and the greatest trust, namely, the protection of our liberties and fortunes; nay, of life itself. Surely then we have a just right to their assistance in every difficulty, and national distress; and in this, I hope, I am justified, by the same learned and ingenious author, (who has done honour to his country) in his address to a *British* parliament. "Every man, says he, whom you represent, has a right to apply to, and to petition you for your protection and redress; and with modesty and humility, to complain of his own or
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his country's suffering ; and by virtue of this undoubted right, I address to you, in my own behalf, and in the behalf of millions of my fellow-subjects, who next to God, and our gracious sovereign, are to receive their preservation, and whole happiness from your breath. Your own personal security too, is nearly linked and blended with theirs ; for you can make no laws, countenance no corruptions, nor bring or suffer any mischiefs upon your country, but what must fall upon yourselves, and your posterity ; and for these reasons, as well as from your known principles of honour and virtue, I assure myself, that you will act for your own and the public interest." Happy then are we, in being under the care and preservation of the faithful commons of *Great Britain*, upon whom we may safely depend, and from the justice of our cause, may expect to see liberty long preserved to a free people.

There is no doubt but the abettors, and their associates, will endeavour to palliate, and, perhaps, to vindicate every measure they have taken : The principals will alledge, that they have not acted contrary to the constitutional charter ; that they had a right, at any time, to create a new common council, change their town clerk, and by one bye-law, to repeal every former one ; constituting such new rules and orders, as they, in their great wisdom, saw fit ; and could do all this, with or without the concurrence, privity, or assent, of the major part of the commonality, how legally free soever ; and likely too, they may strive to salve scrupulous reflections, with
hopes,

hopes, that the affair, when under scrutiny, may turn upon some nice point, which, by their influence with power, may so determine, as to give sanction to all they have done. But whatsoever they think, or whatsoever their favourers may effect for them, no impartial breast, can, at present, approve. That the law, in some cases, differs from equity, we need no proficient to explain; but good and honest men, will never seek to wrest the true good intent of them, to serve the purport of arbitrary wrong. We know some few honorary freemen have been, from time to time, admitted in almost every town-corporate in *England*; but then the persons had merited this favour from the people, by eminent service to their country, or to the place which conferred the freedom; but in the doing of this, we read not of any chief magistrate creating a new common-council, turning out a town clerk, and breaking the established guild just at the eve of an election, and giving up the privileges to fifties and hundreds, (without regard to stations, characters, or conditions of Men) in order to bring in a member right or wrong; but that such hath been the case at *Durham*, is but too plain, and the flagrancy must surely be condemned by every honest, every thinking man. No less a number than two hundred and fifteen names appear in the printed lists of the new created votes, distinguished under the several classes of esquires, gentlemen, clergymen, military officers, officers of the revenue, attorneys, agents, servants, tenants, merchants, mechanicks, and others of inferior order. Far be it from me, to offer the least personal abuse;

buse; let the laws of my country alone publish the names of offenders, and fix the distinguished epithets they deserve. Their actions are open to mine, and the public censure.

However, slightly many people may think on this matter, it will appear of a nature serious to every well-wisher of his country. As I before said, it concerns not the rights and privileges of the Freemen of *Durham* only; the bad contagion may hereafter reach the rulers of other corporations, and in the end, prove fatal to all national freedom in the people. Spoiled of their most valuable prerogative of electing their own representatives, how wide a door may open to the worst confusion? Destroying that unanimity, that mutual confidence, without which we must not expect lasting quier at home, or happy success in war. But God forbid, this should ever be the state, the affliction of *Britons*! The rather, to prevent it, let us implore the royal protection: Best to crush the adder in its embryo-state, if we would have nothing to dread from its future poison.

Such of the legal Freemen, who, by the rage of party, have been led to the strange inconsistency of voting the downfall of their enfranchisements, may (if general *Lambton* succeed in his endeavours to restore them) have opportunity of acting otherwise hereafter. It will then be happy, if they are cautious how they receive the flattering insinuations of ill designing men. Skilled in evasions, they palliate the most unfair proceedings; trampling on laws they aim at, when these stand in the way of their wrong ambition.

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Let us all remember, that the worst consequences may be ever dreaded from a combination of weak heads and bad hearts: The ignorance in the one sort, being a fit basis for the sinister views and projects of the other.

It is common at elections, to find men give their voice contrary to their inclination and judgment; and this they alledge was done by the order, or at the request, of persons to whom they have been obliged for favours. But, in the name of liberty, ought any consideration to compel us to chuse one for a member of parliament whom we doubt incapable of being a true guardian, of what we hold most dear? The youngest man amongst us, must certainly be so far read in the history and constitution of our country, as to be sensible, what high advantages we derive from this inestimable privilege of chusing our own representatives; a blessing, secured to us, by the wisdom and resolution of glorious ancestors. How tenacious then ought we to be of it, and with what care ought we to guard against the encroachments of overbearing power, flagrant, or disguised? Filled with the just idea, we can have no real difficulty to encounter at any election. If the candidates are unequal to each other, in point of property, principle, or capacity, we can never hesitate which to reject. If their qualifications be fit and equal, we have then only to fix our promise, as led by friendship or acquaintance, and abide by it, with firmness, and endeavours of sincerity; without a servile regard to our own private lucre; assured, that he who is worthy to be the guardian of what we so much value,

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will be incapable of resenting, or even constraining as an affrontive, our appearance for his opponent. He will have the same tender regard for our national welfare, and will deem it his duty to study and promote the happiness of all, as well those who did not, as those who did, poll for him. Who parts from this principle of humanity and benevolence, is no proper representative of a free people, howsoever otherwise distinguished by title or fortune. It must be confessed, that by some fatality or caprice, in our customs, very unreputable doings are frequent at most of our elections. The bribery, the low artifices practised to obtain a majority of votes; the unsettled principles, and unfaithfulness of many voters; the extravagant expence imposed upon candidates, are circumstances that reflect no honour on a people rightly zealous to preserve their freedom; to the total loss of which, nothing will sooner contribute, than a wilful abuse of it. Honesty is still the best policy; and although the adhering to it, may sometimes injure our circumstances on the one side, it cannot fail of bringing in the end much comfort, if not a lucrative compensation on the other. Better to live an *Epictetus* in rags, than be a *villain* in place or honour. That hero in morality, hath laid it down as a maxim, that he who parts with his integrity and modesty, under a pretence of promoting the public good, will be less capable of serving his country, when he is grown knavish and impudent.

(To be continued.)

Ad-

Advice to the Freemen of Newcastle.

THE power which you was generously pleased, for the last seven years, to commit to two men, who have dispised your instructions, will, in a short time, again be your own. You will undoubtedly, at that time, remember how your servants have used you, and give them a final discharge. Men of such dubious characters, ought not to be trusted with such important concerns as the liberties of *Englishmen*. If your past experience does not teach you wisdom, in your choice of members of parliament, let at least your love for the liberties of your country, make you cautious in a future election. Those men who have abused your confidence, and have made daring attempts upon your natural rights and properties, by endeavouring to wrest from you the means of supporting your widows and fatherless children, are no longer worthy of your regard. Under the sanction of the good Sir —, your right of common was almost forcibly wrested out of your hands. The worthy man with all the pious pretensions to charity and benevolence, with the arbitrary domination of a feudal tyrant, had the assurance to put in a claim of lordship over your unalienable rights and possessions, and as far as arbitrary power, contrary to law, could proceed, had in farm let, by the aid of his common-council, the property of the freemen of *Newcastle*. It is true, that he was your mayor, and chief magistrate, and from a pretension of chartered authority, wanted to rob you of your rights: But he, who in the
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character of a chief magistrate, will attempt to plunder the rights of his majesty's subjects, is not to be trusted with their concerns in a *British* house of commons. I hear the soothing apology, that the worthy Sir ———, meant not to deprive the poor freemen of their rights and possessions: But why was he so obstinate in bringing on a law suit, and in putting the town to such a monstrous expence? If he intended only to amuse himself with a little diversion, he took a far too serious method of proceeding in his sport. What would any person suppose his meaning to be, when, with an unrelenting obstinacy, he carried his jest so far as to bring it before the judges of assize, where several hundreds of pounds, belonging to the freemen of *Newcastle*, were devoured by the sharks of the law, and will never return back again to either the freemen or the town hatch.

If this pious b——, intended only to humble the pride of the freemen, and to make them submit to his stewardship of their own property, that the perquisites of the *Town-moor*, might pass among the rest of his ostensible charities, he undoubtedly meant too much. This was rather an abundance of officiousness. And it appears amazingly strange, that the advocates for this good b——t, should insist upon his good intentions, when his practice declared his meaning so visibly. For all his charities and public benefactions, he has had his reward: The applause of the public for his good deeds, is a sufficient compensation. This aerial nutriment has long been a pleasing repast to the b——t of W——n, which

which no humane person will ever envy him. But will all those ostentatious charities be considered as a sufficient atonement for his late attempts of an open robbery which he intended to commit upon the *Town-moor*? And what aggravates the the degree of this designed oppression, is the attempt to make the laws of *England* patronize it. The bringing of this matter to an issue at law, loudly declared that some persons were serious in their intentions of having the *Town-moor* into their own hands, that they might parcel out the perquisites among their obedient creatures, who were ready to bow down to the dagon of their arbitrary authority.

I suppose that the freemen of *Newcastle* have not forgotten, that the same person, who was the head of this party of oppression, who meant to deprive them of their property, with the greatest piety and patriotism, voted for general warrants, and set up his own right of judgment in opposition to their right of instructions. These are things, which you, gentlemen, can neither forgive nor forget. They are public insults upon national liberty, which are unpardonable by the public. Private offences may be forgiven; but an attack upon the laws and constitution of *Britain*, cannot be passed over without a public satisfaction.

The other gentleman, to whom you have committed the concerns of your corporation, in parliament, can scarcely now impose upon you. His benefactions have never dazzled the eyes of the public, and his tergiversation is too well understood now to be doubted. Beware of them
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both, and study your own interest. Against the approaching election, look out for some more worthy men, but do not trust them without the strongest assurances of their intentions to pursue your instructions. If you suffer yourselves to be bribed, cajoled, or deceived, you deserve to be slaves for ever.

JUNIUS.

The following Letter, which breathes a Spirit of Freedom, and appears to us to have been written by a masterly Hand, will, we make no Doubt, be acceptable to many of our Subscribers, — We would be glad of this Gentleman's future Favours.

To the Editors of the Freemens' Magazine.

GENTLEMEN,

IN a sinking state, as in a sinking ship, all vigour, care, and perseverance, should be exerted: An indolent despair that public ruin is inevitable, or supine consolation that we are only passengers in the republic, are equally culpable and ridiculous. Kingdoms and states have been saved, when it has been thought nothing but miracles could have preserved them. The brave inflexible resolutions of honest, good, and wise men, who tenaciously persevere in their attempts to free an oppressed people, will meet with success in the end.

The late noble struggles of the freedom of Newcastle, have demonstrated what may be done with vigilance and assiduity. Tho' there may be some men abandoned and corrupt enough to desert

desert the public cause, prostitute their honour, and impose on the *people*; yet the ill use they have made of the *best principles*, is no reason why those principles should be laid aside.—Some indeed say in their hearts, *all men are rogues*; but I think, *none but a rogue will think so*.

As opposition to bad men, and bad measures, are necessary, there never was one more necessary than at present; for our foreign and domestic affairs were never in a worse posture, and our members of parliament who ought to be the guardians of our natural rights, tread them under foot with impunity.

It requires therefore a steadiness in the electors of *Great-Britain* to choose gentlemen to represent them, of known integrity, who will be *vigilant* within doors, and *strenuous* without, least, peradventure, greater ills befall us. It was therefore, with infinite pleasure, that I saw last week in the public papers, your advertisement, as I think your plan is calculated to baffle the designs of a set of men, who has these many years endeavoured to enslave the free burgesses of *Newcastle*.

April 28, 1774. MARCUS AURELIUS.

GENTLEMEN,

Your promised Impartiality has determined me to send you the following Observation, which you will please to insert in the *Freemens' Magazine*.

An Advice to Patriots.

THE fair name of Liberty has in all ages, been made a cloak for designs which have in their

their execution issued in the greatest slavery. Men who are not virtuous in principle, will do with Liberty, as with all other things, make it subservient to their interest, passions, and appetites. The present race of patriots (a very few excepted) are, by their own behaviour, a burlesque upon the name of freedom. Their manner of supporting the constitution of *England* by eating and drinking, and wasting their time, and their money, tends to create habits which will make even a virtuous man in time, a slave to his own appetites, and render him incapable of doing his duty to the community, or his own immediate connections. It is not without reason that some have refused to promote this noble cause in connection with particular characters who are engaged in its defence; for their licentious manner of proceeding, gives ground for suspicion, that their end in supporting freedom, is to be free from all obligations of moral consideration. The patriots of 1641, were sober, religious persons, they acted from principles of conscience, and were regular in their deportment. *Hambden, Whitelock, Pym, Pryn*, and others, were persons whose moral character, and zeal for religion, kept pace with their political career, and they were as zealous for the cause of God, as they were for the interest of men: While persons professing a love for their country, indulge themselves in the luxuries of the age, and are strangers to that self-denial which is inseparably connected with virtuous patriotism, their profession will not be sufficient to give a sanction to the character they assume.

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There is one species of licentiousness which is inconsistent with true patriotism, and that is a wanton exhibition of those characters which act in opposition to our views of liberty, when they are otherwise respectable and praise-worthy. Sir W— B. has been the object of this kind of wantonness for these seven years past: But though his views may have been different from those who have abused him, he certainly deserves some better treatment as a gentleman, and a humane benefactor of the indigent and distressed: Those who think him wrong, ought to reason with him, but it is illiberal and unjust to expose him to contempt, by a partial exhibition of his character. The least that is due to him is, that his virtues and failings be fairly balanced, and charity exercised with respect to his infirmities. Though he may have voted erroneously on some occasions in the house of commons, yet as he never was a pensioner, it cannot be conceived that he meant to ruin his country, when he himself has so much to lose, and must be a principal sufferer. Sir W—— has never looked up to the throne for preferment, nor solicited favours from any minister since he was a member of parliament, and it may be truly said that he is independent. Some particular mistakes and (*human est errare*) ought not to be construed as general principles: I would therefore advise the friends of Liberty to consider what becomes themselves, and what is due to the character of Sir W— B. and not throw forth squibs of reproach against a man, who, as far as reason can

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judge, cannot hurt his country, without ruining himself.

A Friend to Truth and Liberty.

Anecdotes from Lettres Curieuses sur divers Sujets.

THE Jews of Metz having offered the Marechal de la Ferte a sum of money to obtain a favour of him; *I despise*, (said he) *every thing that comes from the descendants of those who put their divine Master to death.* But the Jews having trebled the sum, he granted their request, saying, *that their forefathers knew not what they did when they crucified Jesus Christ.*

An attorney and his wife went together to confess their sins: She confessed first. The priest falling asleep about the end of the confession, she went away, thinking that she had been absolved. The husband went afterwards, and perceiving that the confessor was asleep, he asked him two or three times whether he heard him; The priest awaking, and being ashamed of his slumber, answered, "Madam, I hear you very well, you just now told me, that the chief clerk of your husband, does very often cuckold him."

Observations on the Court of France.

There is no sincerity at Court, but ill-offices done privately, great vexations under the appearance of mirth, modesty puffed up with pride. A man is not allowed to express his love nor his duty; he is never allowed to speak as he thinks. One must know how to conceal his sentiments,
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how to praise or hate according to the judgment of others. What are the principles of a courtier? To flatter his enemies, and destroy them; to make use of his friends when they are useful, and to forsake them when they want him; to promise any thing in order to get a place, and to forget every thing when he has got it; to repay benefits with words, services with promises, debts with threatenings. Pleasure is more dangerous at court because it is more lively; distraction more dreadful because it is nice; ambition more eager because it is supported by birth, interest, and address; fortune is worshipped at court, and yet complained of; merit is praised and neglected; what is heard there is a lie; what is seen is a delusion.

This description of the court of *France*, may be applied to some other courts as well as to that of the grand monarch.

Prejudices of education considered, from *Lettres Choises de Mr Simon Tyssot de patat Professeur Ordinaire en Mathematiques dans l'Ecole Illustre de Deventer en Over Yssel.*

S. I R,

IT is in vain for us to set up for free thinkers. The natural weaknesses fomented by education, in our tender age, leave such deep vestiges in our brain, that years of discretion cannot wholly efface them. We endeavour in vain to forget the idle stories of our nurses, and to get out of that error, which has been rooted in our minds by an account of the light of some imaginary phantoms; as soon as an object offers itself to our eyes in which we dis-

discover something extraordinary, and the true cause whereof is not immediately known to us, we cannot forbear to ascribe it either to a supernatural principle, or to demons; or at least to remain in doubt.

It is now a fortnight since a gentleman, who is a friend of mine, and lives two small leagues from this city, having invited me to go and dine at his house, I went out of town as soon as the gates were opened, that is between four and five in the morning, that I might avoid the heat, and enjoy the pleasure of the country all the day. As I was crossing a coppice seven or eight hundred paces long, I saw, upon the beaten road, the following characters, very neatly drawn, and about five inches in length: *S T. D. P. P. M. O. N. V.* A desire of discovering the signification of those letters, made me stop; I considered them with great application, and found that the seven upper ones were the initial letters of my name, and profession. (*Sim. Tyssot. de Patat Prof. Mathematici. Ordinarius.*)

At first I was struck with amazement. I knew not to what I might ascribe the cause of that writing, in a place which appeared to me so little frequented. A thousand chimeras came into my head upon this occasion; but it was worse still, when after having racked my brains to find out the meaning of the two last letters, placed under the others, I had a strong fancy that they signified *non ultra*. I must not tell a lie. I was uneasy at it, and felt an emotion, which did very much increase, when a magpie, perching upon a tree, just by me, cried out suddenly, two or
three

three times, one after another, *Myn Heer Salt gelagh betalem, My master shall pay the reckoning,* and then flew away. This circumstance confounded me, and made me believe that I was threatened with some disaster. I could not conceive that all these things were natural; I found them too mysterious, and knew not what course to take.

As I was now and then looking back to see whether any body came, I perceived a man who ran up to me as fast as he could, with a great knife in his hand: That man, who at first seemed to me to be a phantom, was bareheaded, and ill-combed; his eyes were red and hollow; he had a large hawked nose, and a very long beard; he was prodigiously lean; without stockings or shoes, and partly wrapt up with a sorry white blanket. Though I had a good sword, yet I did not find myself bold enough to expect that furious man, as I would doubtless have done upon any other occasion. I stepped into the wood to make way for him; he was scarcely gone beyond the place where I stood before, when I heard the voice of many people, who called *that wretch* as loud as ever they could. Whereupon, stepping forward, I saw two men and a woman, who ran full speed, and appeared to me to be very much alarmed: I enquired into the reason of it, and was informed by those peasants, that they were the brothers of that poor wretch, that he had been out of his senses, and sometimes mad for many years, and that therefore they kept him chained; that he had broke loose, and that before he ran away, he had got into the kitchen
and

and taken a knife, with which they were afraid he would do some mischief; and for this reason they had been running after him half an hour without being able to overtake him. The joy I was in with being with some of my fellow-creatures, put me upon a good work; I attended those poor people, and helped them to execute their charitable design, and indeed we compassed it in a little time. My sword, of which he was afraid, and my promising him that no harm should be done to him, contributed very much to it. In the mean time we were got out of the wood, and before I left them, I saw *Spyker Bos*. I soon came thither, but the eagerness with which every body endeavoured to procure me some diversion, made me forget for some time what had happened to me in my journey.

(To be continued.)

Previous to the Enlargement of Mr Wilkes from the King's Bench Prison, when Preparations were making in various Parts of the Kingdom, to celebrate that Day, we find the following Ode appeared in the London Evening Post, composed for the Occasion, and said to be performed in Liberty-Hall, Newcastle, by a Party, denominated the Capadocian Society.

Ode for the Day of Mr Wilkes's Enlargement.

RECITATIVE.

HAIL to the rosy morn, whose ray
 With lustre brings the auspicious day,
 That wakes the chearful smile:
 Lo, yonder stands from bondage free,
 The darling son of Liberty,
 The patriot of our isle!

In

A I R.

In vain emerged *Britain* from the main,
In vain are *Magna Charta* and her laws;
If at the nod of a detested thane,
Cælestial Liberty e'er lose her cause.

C H O R U S.

Let praise undue, to art belong,
'Tis truth alone, sublimed our song.

RECITATIVE.

In *Wilkes*, the patriot's fire we see,
In *Wilkes*, the friend to Liberty:
'Tis he, who cowards terms ne'er yet could please,
Who never could be bought or won with ease.
Hither *Flora*, quickly bring
Choicest produce of the spring;
Strew the sweetest in his way,
Fly and vivify the day.

A I R.

Ye birds that skim the ærial sphere,
Ye tenants of the deep,
Ye beings all of mortal race,
That walk, or crawl, or creep:
Tho' dumb to others' praise in chearful play,
Go celebrate this *great*, this *glorious* day.

RECITATIVE.

Ye oceans, rivers, lakes, and rills,
Ye vallies, mountains, plains, and hills,
That circumscribe the earth;
This day be liquid regions still,
This day let lawns with verdure fill,
This day gives FREEDOM birth!
Hampden and *Sydney* from their seats sublime,
Applaud with smiles the spirit of our rhyme.

A I R.

Hark! ye clouds that wildly run,
Fleecy curtains curtains of the sun,

The FREEMENS' MAGAZINE.

Whither sent, or where inclin'd,
Roving on the wings of wind,
Speed your pace, Oh ! quickly fly,
Disturb not now the lucid sky.

CHORUS.

Let praise alone to art belong,
'Tis truth alone sublimes our song.

RECITATIVE.

Apollo rise, arise and strike your lyre,
And raise in every breast *seraphic* fire.

DUET.

Ye twinkling orbs that nightly sport
Before the threshold of Jove's court,
Rise—(and tho' you sleep for years,)
Rise— and flutter in your spheres.

RECITATIVE.

Come creation, now advance,
Now begin the festive dance.

AIR.

Rejoice, ye *Capadocians* rejoice,
Britannia hails you of her fav'rite race,
With strains of liberty now swell your voice,
With *Wilkes* and Freedom shake the etherial space.

GRAND CHORUS.

Hear us, high imperial Jove,
Sovereign of the realms above;
Who the patriot dare assail,
Place them on a Comet's tail.

Newcastle, April 6, 1770.

PRIMROSE.

T H E

FREEMEN'S MAGAZINE.

An Account of the Transactions in Newcastle Guild-hall, at Michaelmas Guild, 1769, will, we are persuaded, be entertaining to a Number of our Subscribers.

AS soon as the Guild was assembled, Thomas White made a motion for having a copy of a petition read, which he brought along with him to that meeting. The late Recorder, who did not relish the idea, nor favour this motion, insisted upon being informed to whom it belonged, or who avowed it. This oracle of the law kindled at the sound of the word *petition* to the throne, and was scarcely able to command as much of his usual good understanding, as to remember, that upon a guild day, he was only a free burgher of the corporation of *Newcastle*, and that all the burghers were equal on that occasion. His face coloured, his tongue began to falter, and he could only ask, with a kind of revengeful vociferation, *Who avows the petition?* Mess. White and Guthrie, who had studied their subject with great exactness, and who knew the theory of the guild, nearly as well as Mr Recorder, were ready to answer this question. Mr Guthrie replied, That it was the petition of all such as were disposed to sign it; and Mr White answered, that he avowed it, and insisted that the town-clerk should read it; and if there were any treason in it, he would be answerable for it. Mr Recorder affirmed, that they had no right to have it read, and spoke in a very magisterial tone; but they soon put him to silence, by asking him, Whether, upon

that day, he sat there as a free burghers, or as a Recorder of *Newcastle*? In this he was obliged to answer, by confessing that he was only there as a free burghers. They then told him, That the guild was held between the mayor and the free burghers; and, on that occasion, he was only one, and had no right to put a negative upon the motion which was made. Upon this he was obliged to submit; and the town-clerk read the petition in presence of the guild.

The magistrates, whose political creed, on all occasions, has been the same with that of the two members, with an eloquence worthy of their education, each, in their turns, condemned the petition, without analysing the contents, or assigning reasons for their refusing to sign it. Such as are accustomed to hear the oratory of a senate, or the speeches delivered at the bar, will imagine, with themselves, that on this occasion, the senatorial eloquence of S— W— B— would issue forth like a torrent, and, by the greatness of its power, and the weight of its argument, demolish the contents of the petition of the freemen. The reader can figure in his own mind, a member of the house of —, with the emotion of anger and distress, standing up, and laying his left hand upon his breast, stretching out his right, as a mark of eloquence, uttering these weighty and emphatical words, *I will sooner have that right hand cut off, than sign such a petition.* And then, by an usual figure, which the rhetoricians call an apostrophe, pronounce these never to be forgotten words, *It is that dangerous, seditious, and inflammatory libel, that is the cause of all this.* If they can only form an image of this in their minds, they will see the picture and speech of S— W— B—. The inflammatory libel, which

which the good *B*— blamed for all this petitioning work, is inserted immediately after this article. On this occasion, the upright behaviour of Mr *R*—— ought not to be forgotten; who, with the address of a politician, long hackneyed in the practice of doing evil, for the sake of turning it to his own advantage, allowed the right of the freemen to petition their sovereign, but refused to concur with them in supporting that right. A dissolution of parliament was a thing which was far from being his desire: And though the splendour of truth forced a confession from him, of the freemens' right of petitioning; yet he meant to put the evil day as far away as possible, by opposing the practice of a right he was obliged, in conscience, publicly to admit. Alas, poor *Matt*! How often has thy judgment and practice differed, when interest has come in the way? It is a great unhappiness for a man to have a disposition to commit an evil action, contrary to the dictates of his own conscience. The present station thou art in, and the office which thou bearest, must either procure the praises or the execrations of thousands. Thou art a public person, and a leader of many, and must expect to be commended or censured according as thou fulfillest thy office, and doest thy duty in the several departments thereof.

The rest of the *A*—— behaved on this occasion, as in all others, with implicit submission to the two *M*——. They said—What did they say? They truly said, *nothing at all.* SEMPER IDEM.

The following Papers were printed in the public News, or handed about in Hand Bills, among the Freemen of Newcastle, some time before the signing the Petition to his Majesty for a Redress

Redress of Grievances ; and, as they all relate to the same Subject, they are classed together. They shew the temper of the people at that Time, and may be presented, in this Magazine, as a Monument of the Zeal of the Freemen of Newcastle, to after-times.

April 29, 1769.

To the ELECTORS of Great-Britain.

FROM the various writers on the contest between the freeholders of *Middlesex* and the H. of —, it appears, that the right of the people to chuse their own representatives, and the right of the crown to create peers, are very similar : That the electors of *Great-Britain* may chuse any man to be their representative, who is qualified according to law ; and that the crown may create any *Englishman*, being a protestant, and taking the oaths prescribed by law, a peer of the realm, and delegate to him a right to a seat and vote in the H. of L. It is absurd to suppose, that the freeholders of any one county, ever delegated to all the other freeholders in the kingdom, any right or power to put a negative upon their choice. — Such, I presume, being the state of our constitution, respecting the rights of the people and the rights of the crown in delegating members to each house ; does it not, at this alarming period, when infractions have actually been made on the rights of the people, behove all electors in the kingdom to insist on their representatives maintaining to them this right ? Should the freeholders of *Middlesex* lose their cause, (now contending) it will be a fatal stab to the liberties of this country ; and our tame submission thereto, necessarily draw on us the curses of posterity.

I shall now address myself to my brother freeholders of *Northumberland*, and beg they would exert themselves in
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the preservation of this sacred right and privilege; as an object of such a nature cannot be attended to with too much seriousness and care: And, with submission to the many public-spirited and respectable characters in our county, shall humbly lay this request for instructions, at the feet of the much admired D*** of Belford.

Newcastle.

A Freeholder of Northumberland.

OCTOBER 2, 1769.

To the Right Worshipful Francis Forster, Esq; Mayor, and the other Worshipful Magistrates of Newcastle upon Tyne.

GENTLEMEN,

THE precarious state of the public liberties of this country, and the various wounds which our constitution has received by the violent exertion of ministerial power, call upon us, at so alarming a crisis, to exert those endeavours which every subject of our sovereign derives from the constitution of *England*. We have seen, with concern, for several years backward, the whole efficiency of government usurped by the great officers of state, and through their corrupt influence, parliaments have generally been at the absolute command of the court, and have accordingly, in innumerable instances, decided in direct opposition to the known sense of the people, the very rule, according to which, in our opinion, they ought always to proceed with an implicit conformity. We have seen a multitude of persons, obnoxious to c—— influence, by their holding or expecting places, pensions, and military commands, elected by the corrupt and venal boroughs, and, after receiving the wages of iniquity, re-elected into the H—— of

C——.

C——: We well know that a number of ill-gotten pensions and needful places, with emoluments to many thousands of pounds, are sunk into single pockets, and settled from generation to generation; whilst it is notorious to all, that, with an incumbrance of near five millions yearly on land and commerce, on the regular payment of which, public credit depends, every great branch of foreign trade is daily sinking in this island.

From a H—— of C——, constituted of men with such principles, and under the immediate influence of the officers of the c——, we have too much reason to apprehend, that every arbitrary exertion of authority, may speedily be explained into the law and privilege of parliament; and the natural rights of the electors of this kingdom transferred to the great officers of S——. Of this violence on the rights of the constituents of *Great-Britain*, we have lately had a recent instance. The arbitrary appointment of Mr L——ll, to a seat in the house of commons, manifestly invades that great, that sacred privilege of the *English*, the right of election; and, at the same time, threatens a total subversion of that constitution, universally acknowledged the admiration of the world.

From these considerations, gentlemen, we have presumed to hope for your concurrence and support, to lay our common grievances at the feet of our most gracious sovereign, and humbly implore him for redress: From a prince of so many eminent and excellent virtues, we do not despair of relief.—And that this our intention may be the more general and unanimous, we humbly intreat you, to order Mr Town Clerk, by an advertisement in the public papers, to summons a meeting of the burgesses of this town on *Monday* next, that after the common business of the day,

we may proceed to form a petition to the throne. A compliance with this requisition, gentlemen, your petitioners shall ever retain with the highest sense of gratitude.

Signed, by order of the companies of

Tailors, Cordwainers, Butchers, Smiths, Tanners, Weavers, Masons, Joiners, Carpenters, Pavers, Slaters, Glaziers, Bricklayer, Millers, Upholsterers, Coopers and Spurriers.

On Friday morning a deputation of the freemen was appointed to wait upon his worship, to know whether he had resolved to comply with the request of the burgesses, by ordering Mr Town Clerk to call a general meeting of the burgesses. His worship expostulated a long time with those commissioned, on the present situation of affairs, and most earnestly recommended to his fellow burgesses to postpone the petition till after the meeting of parliament: He was told, that the burgesses were determined to petition the throne, and that they had one already drawn up, which would be laid before their worships on Monday, for their approbation and subscription.

Newcastle upon Tyne, November 7, 1769.

A General meeting of the free burgesses and freeholders of this town and county, being appointed to be held at the Long-room, in the *Forth-house*, on Wednesday the 8th inst. in order to take into consideration a petition to the throne, in support of the constitutional right of free election; the following considerations are, in the mean time, submitted to the public.

Considerations for the Electors of Great-Britain.

THE business for which the free burgesses and freeholders

holders are now called together, is of the greatest consequence to us all; and the plainness of the matter is equal to its importance. It concerns every one of us; and every one of us has capacity sufficient to understand it.

By the constitution of this kingdom, every *British* subject is capable of being elected to serve in parliament, unless he be disabled by the positive known *law of the land*.

By the constitution of this kingdom, every elector has a right of giving his vote, in the choice of a member to serve in parliament, except where he is restrained by the same *law of the land*.

By the constitution of this kingdom, neither the king *alone*, nor the lords *alone*, nor the house of commons *alone*, have authority to make any law, or to alter, dispense with, suspend, or take away, any law; or any right, which the subjects hold under the *law*.

Such is the constitution of this kingdom, with regard to its laws, and the right of election, which is held under the *laws*, and under the *laws* only.

It is now the business of electors to enquire, Whether the business of the house of commons have been agreeable to these principles; and whether, in the last session of parliament, a most material alteration has not been attempted, with regard to the right of election. You are to examine, Whether the house of commons, *by its single vote only*, has not thought proper, in effect, to take this right from the electors, and to vest it in themselves; So that, in future, members of parliament may be chosen, not by the good liking of the country, and according to the laws of the land, but according to the will and pleasure of that house.

You will ask, Whether they have not assumed a power of dis-

disabling any person from being chosen, merely in consequence of acts of their own; although such person should have been under no sort of previous disqualification by the law of the land.

And further, if the electors should, in virtue of their legal right, chuse the person so disqualified (merely by the resolutions of that house) whether they have not claimed a right of placing in his room, *another person*, although that person should not have the majority of legal votes in his favour; nay, although he should not have above *two* votes in a whole county or borough; and that such person should be forced upon the county or borough, and held to be its true and proper representative, and, as such, shall be invested with the disposition of your properties, liberties, and lives.

Above all, it will be proper for you to be informed, Whether they have not actually carried this their claim into execution, by disqualifying the member lately chosen for the county of *Middlesex*, by force of their resolution only, by altering the return which had been made agreeable to the majority of votes, and the law of elections and returns; and finally, by appointing for the representative of *Middlesex*, another person, *not* chosen by that county, (1143 legal votes having been given in favour of the person whom the house had put under an arbitrary disqualification, and only 296 for the person whom they thought proper) by their own authority, to elect.

If the house of commons shall possess a power of disqualifying any person, though chosen by a majority of legal votes, and of accepting any other person, upon any small number of votes, without any other rule than their own pleasure; it is evident that the election of members of par-

liament must, in effect and substance, be in that house, and not in us, the electors of *Great Britain*; words and names will be given to us, in the place of solid privileges. We shall lose all share in making our own laws, and thereby be deprived of all our liberties at a single stroke.

Whenever such an attempt is made, the wisdom of our constitution has not left us without a remedy. The king has by law, a power of *dissolving*, as well as of *calling* parliaments; and this power is not placed in the crown, in order to gratify private humour or mere inclination; but it is to be used for the benefit of the people, and in a gracious compliance with their just desires, whenever the representatives of the people shall appear to entertain a greater regard for their own power, than for the rights of those who have chosen them. It is provided, in order that the electors may have an opportunity, by a new election, of committing their affairs into hands more worthy of their trust.

The right of the people to petition for such a dissolution has always existed; and it is not made, but is only confirmed by an act of parliament (entitled, an act declaring the rights and liberties of the subjects, and settling the succession of the crown.) This act is one of the first fruits of the glorious revolution; and it expressly declares, *That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.* And to this right of petitioning the act has put no limitation whatsoever.

It is not in the power of the house of commons, even though it should be in their inclination, to abridge this right; because it is a right granted not by their resolutions, but by law; but that house, far from denying, has expressly

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ly admitted and authorized it, by declaring in their journals, *That it is the undoubted right of the people of England to petition or address the king for the calling, sitting, and dissolving of parliament, and for redressing of grievances.*

Such are the rights of the *British* subjects; and this of petitioning is one of the remedies whenever any right is violated; and it is hoped that we shall never prove so degenerate from, and so ungrateful to, our ancestors, as not to transmit to posterity, those privileges which had been handed down to us, as perfect, and as secure, as we received them; and that we will not permit the invasion of those dear-bought rights by any power in the world; and least of all by that power, which we have expressly appointed for the preservation of our laws and liberties.

. The meeting will be held at three o'clock in the afternoon.

A short Detail of Facts, which is submitted to the candid Opinion of the Freeholders of the County of Northumberland, by
A Brother Freeholder.

Magna est Veritas, et prevalebit.

THE request of the majority of the grand jury for this county, assembled at *Alnwick*, to the high sheriff, having made some noise, and as there have been various accounts given of that affair, I thought it a duty incumbent upon me, as one of that majority, in vindication of myself and of the other gentlemen who voted the expediency of a meeting of the freeholders, to give a true state of facts relative to that request, and of the subsequent proceedings; and as the language of truth needs no embellishment, I hope I shall convince the impartial, whatever opi-

opinion they may entertain of our political sentiments, that we have at least acted the independent, honest, and *consistent* part.

On Thursday the 5th of October, before the grand jury were dismissed, a motion was made and seconded, that the sheriff should be requested to call a general meeting of the freeholders of the county, at the present important juncture. The question was put, and carried in the affirmative; a card was drawn up in consequence, to the following effect:

“ The majority of the grand jury met at *Alnwick*, at the *Michaelmas* sessions, 1769, present their most respectful compliments to the high sheriff, and being of opinion that a meeting of the freeholders should, at this time, be called, to give their opinions concerning some most essential and constitutional points, request the favour of him to call a meeting for that purpose.

Alnwick, Grand Jury Room, Oct. 5, 1769.

The bailiff attending the grand jury was ordered to desire the presence of the under sheriff, who came down accordingly from the bench into the jury room, when the card was presented to him by the foreman, who, in the name, and in the presence of the grand jury, desired it might be delivered into the sheriff's own hands; which he, as it was his duty, promised to perform. He did not, however, see Mr High Sheriff till some days after; but an emissary had been previously dispatched to inform him of the card, to inform him that it ought to be regarded as *anonymous*; that if it had been signed, *yet nine did not make a jury*; in short, to teach evasion, where a simple assent or refusal was alone required. For my part, I honour the man, who, differing from me in opinion, boldly speaks his sentiments.

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The insinuations of designing people, however, produced the desired effect; for the sheriff, upon receiving a letter from his deputy, informed him that he had a letter from the grand jury to be delivered to him personally, left the town; a manifest token of his prejudice against our card and its contents; he received it, however, soon after, and three weeks elapsed without an answer: Different reasons were assigned for this conduct; but they are best known to himself. The sheriff is undoubtedly an honest man, and ought, from every circumstance in life, to be independent. I forbear, therefore, every invidious reflection, and conclude, that his reasons appear to himself well founded; but his silence upon the subject was, by us, candidly imputed to the important nature of our request.

As two or three of the body, however, were to be at *Newcastle* at the time of the fair, we were of opinion that they should wait upon the high sheriff, and request an answer; which was done accordingly by Mr Cooke and Mr George Grieve, when they received for answer, "That he would not move in it; that unless we had been *unanimous*, our request could not be esteemed the sense of the county."—These are the facts; to make comments upon them would be paying a bad compliment to the freeholders; he who runs may read; my sole intention is to shew that *we have been refused*, that our card can by no means be esteemed *anonymous*; and, in short, that *we have not been wanting to the cause*; or, to make use of a common expression, I mean to put the saddle upon the right horse.

Non omnia possumus omnes.

'Tis not in mortals to command success,
But they do more, Sempronius, who deserve it.

A C A U T I O N.

Fellow Freemen and Freeholders of Newcastle.

IT is now rumoured that the present M——s, and other heads their associates, intend going to the *Forth-house*, to sign the petition, and that the M——s will present it to the king; their friends give out, that we misunderstood the M——s at the last guild; that they are our friends and wish well to the cause, &c.

Brethern, don't be deceived; nor let the ingenious assertions, excuses, and eloquence get the better of our understandings! Take care it is not all hypocrisy, and their behaviour a sham to serve their own ends, and make a merit in doing that which is not sincere, and which they never intended untill this time, and in a forced manner.

There never was a time that deserved our attention more than the present; therefore we must be on our guard, and act circumspectly. The M——s have insulted the freemen, and have held them as mere nullities; let us consider then, whether we ought to intrust the M——s with the petition! Whether they deserve any countenance from us!

We are doubly obliged to Sir *Francis*; he espoused our cause at the first, and offered to present it, both which our M——s refused! Surely then Sir *Francis* merits our esteem, and deserves all the respect we can possibly shew him; we cannot have a better person to be our leader and our chairman, he is our friend and we can trust him.

Several Freemen.

To the Editors of the FREEMEN'S MAGAZINE.

GENTLEMEN,

IT is an old received maxim with me, that whenever I hear news abroad, or have intelligence brought me,

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concerning the actions or affairs of other people, always to consider closely the known characters, dispositions, and interested connections of the persons from whom I receive such news or intelligence, and to fix my belief or disbelief accordingly. I have another rule, laid down to me by a wise venerable old man, that whenever I turn my thoughts upon political matters, to bear this in remembrance: "*It belongs not to slaves to argue concerning liberty.* For it is with liberty as with virtue; the value of which is not known, but by those who *possess* them, though the relish for them is lost with the things themselves." I mean *true* liberty, which differs as largely from riot and licentiousness, as *true* religion does from rant and wild enthusiasm.

These thoughts re-occurred to me the other day, on having the *Freemen's Magazine* but into my hands; and I was very cautious in considering how I could, with propriety, take this pamphlet to be a "Constitutional repository, containing a free debate concerning the cause of liberty." It is a great and noble cause, said I, and it requires great and noble efforts to support it! I was thus proceeding, in my parlour, when a neighbour, of veracity, came in, and told me, he had heard, from good authority, that some of the worthy burgesses, of a certain corporation, who so lately, and so laudably distinguished themselves, not only countenanced, but also actually concurred in the undertaking. He soon drew my attention, and hesitation vanished in a moment. It was then I ventured to peruse the work, with the softening eye of candour, as far as my limited capacity allowed me; perfectly convinced, that *men*, who have so heroically managed in the legal defence of their constitutional rights and liberties, will, with the same magnanimous, firmness, and

and moderation, proceed in the fair vindication, and future protection of themselves and brethern.

Thus prepared, I shall, from time to time, be a serious reader of the *Freemen's Magazine*, and (with your leave, gentlemen) now and then trouble you with my strictures, upon such passages as may more particularly strike my observation. Shall I be bold to hope, you will never lose sight of these words in your introduction? "Invidious anecdotes will be avoided, as the fair cause of liberty has no occasion for such *shameful* resources!" I believe *Rousseau*, when he says, "There are no manners, but such as vie in purity with those of the old *Romans*, that can bear *censors*; and such a tribunal amongst *us*, would soon throw every thing into confusion!" If the sacred trust, reposed in our representatives, by any body of free constituents, hath really been abused, under what shape or predicament, mode, or finesse of excuse whatsoever; the time is at hand, when the injured may luckily have it their power to redress themselves. If the constitution calls for a redress of measures, there is the greatest likelihood to effect it the most salutary, by a change of men. If *Britannia* (awful name!) hath been deserted in her true interests, by any of her sons, render those weak deserters less serviceable to the *despots* of arbitrary measures, and she will the sooner bring them back to their duty. On the other hand, let us cherish, re-establish, and if possible, secure greater honours to those *nobler beings*, who, in all the late struggles in the support of liberty, have so dutiously, and so manfully stood by her.

A Constitutional Freeman.

Durham, May 9, 1774.

We shall be obliged to this gentleman for his future favours.

To the EDITORS of the FREEMEN'S MAGAZINE.

GENTLEMEN,

IN your very useful *Magazine* of last month, I read a letter from the two members for *Newcastle*, dated May 17, 1769, to Mr *Baker* then mayor, and the other free burghesses, in answer to their instructions to them, wherein they say, that they will pay such attention and deference to their instructions as is consistent with the freedom of judging. The result was, they regarded not the instructions sent them; no doubt imagining their sagacity was superior to that of 1500 of their constituents; beside a right they pretended to, of not being responsible to their electors. To set before your readers the absurdity as well as illegality of such pretensions, I beg leave to desire you would insert in your next the following remarks, taken from a late sensible author concerning the Responsibility of Members to the People.

NOVO CASTRENSIS.

Arguments for Responsibility of Members to the People, from political Disquisitions.

IN the debate upon the motion for repealing the septennial act. A. D. 1734, Sir *William Wyndham* opposed Sir *W. Young*, who had endeavoured to depreciate the necessity of responsibility.

‘ The gentleman (meaning Sir *William*) said, that we
‘ were to have no dependance upon our constituents; he
‘ went further, he said it was a dangerous dependance;
‘ nay, he went further still, and said it was more dangerous
‘ than a dependance on the crown. This my worthy
‘ friend took notice of, and, with his usual modesty, call’d
‘ it a new doctrine. It is, Sir, not only a new doctrine,
‘ but is the most monstrous, the most slavish doctrine was
‘ ever

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‘ ever heard ; and such a doctrine, as I hope no man will
 ‘ ever dare to support within these walls. I am persuaded,
 ‘ ed, Sir, the learned gentleman did not mean what the
 ‘ words he happened to make use of may seem to import ;
 ‘ for though the people of a county, city, or borough, may
 ‘ be misled, and may be induced to give instructions which
 ‘ are contrary to the true interest of their country, yet I
 ‘ hope he will allow, that in times past, the crown has
 ‘ been oftner misled ; and consequently we must conclude,
 ‘ that it is more apt to be misled, in time to come, than
 ‘ we can suppose the people to be.

Though it should be affirmed, that a member of parliament is not responsible to his own constituents ; yet it would be strange to assert, that all the members may neglect the remonstrances of all the constituents in *England* to the same purpose. In that case, the members could not be said to be representatives of the people of *England*, but must be considered as a set of absolute despots, acting for their own private interest. But this is inconsistent with the very idea of election, or of delegated power ; and if one member is not responsible, neither is another. If one is responsible all are. If revolution-principles are justifiable, that is, if the people may take the power out of the hands of a king or government, when they abuse it, it follows, that the king and government are in all cases responsible to the people ; and that a majority of the people can, at any time, change the government.

This is not denying the danger and trouble of revolutions, nor the difficulty of determining what is the sense of the majority of the people. But if members of parliament are not obliged to regard instructions from their constituents, what is to become of a poor town, or country place,

place, unable to bear a tax, no way grievous to wealthier places? The house receives no petitions upon money bills, because every place either sends a member or members of its own, or is represented by the county members. But, if the house is neither to be informed by petition nor by instruction, how is it to be informed? This leaves an open door for the most cruel oppression. Lord *Coke* says, 'It is the custom of parliament, when any new device is moved for in parliament on the king's behalf, for his aid, or the like; (as a little demand of half a million to pay civil list debts) that the commons may answer, They dare not agree to it, without conference with their counties.' He gives an instance of this, 9th of *Edw. III.* which is applied by Mr *Pulteney* in the debate on the excise scheme, *A. D.* 1733. And Mr *Pulteney* adds, that the abhorrence shewn by the people against that scheme, was a sufficient reason for rejecting it. So far from questioning the responsibility of members, I should think it reasonable and proper to demand an oath of the members at their taking their seats, besides the usual oaths; I mean an oath of fidelity to their constituents, by which they should declare before God and men, that they come into the house by the free and uninfluenced choice of a true majority of those, who, by law, have the right of choice; and that they will, in all their speeches and votes, faithfully and zealously pursue their country's good, in spite of all temptation to the contrary. The most incorrupt parliament ought not to refuse giving their constituents all the security in their power. An honest man does not refuse to give his bond. The most virtuous are the most desirous of avoiding suspicion, and the most anxious about standing in a clear light before the world. No single man, or set of men, ought to be

be trusted with power, without account to the people, the original proprietors of power. There is not upon earth, says the excellent Gordon, a nation which, having had unaccountable magistrates, has not felt them to be crying and consuming mischiefs. In truth, where they are most limited, it has been often as much as a whole people could do to restrain them to their trust, and to keep them from violence; and such frequently has been their propensity to be lawless, that nothing but a violent death could cure them of their violence. This evil has its root in human nature; men will never think they have enough whilst they can take more; nor be content with a part when they can seize the whole. The history of mankind, for two or three thousand years backwards, (which is as far backwards as history goes) is a sermon upon this text, Nothing more dangerous than power without responsibility. But the species resembles an individual: As the father's experience does not make the son wiser, so neither does the history of the sufferings of former generations teach the succeeding to secure themselves against the mischiefs of unaccountable power.

(To be continued.)

The following Dissertation on some of the Privileges of Newcastle, and especially that of having a Sheriff's Court once every Month, will help the Burgesses of this Corporation to understand their own Rights, and shew them that by a diligent Enquiry into the State of their own Affairs, they may, in Process of Time, totally free themselves from every Species of Oppression, which their Magistrates, for the Time being, may

may attempt. There are many judicious Observations, in this Essay, and we have communicated it to the Public, amongst the other Articles on the Head of constitutional Laws.

THE court of *King's Bench* having, last *Easter term*, granted a mandamus to the sheriff of *Newcastle upon Tyne* to compel him to receive and determine civil causes in his county court, which he had refused to take cognizance of, as no proceedings of that kind had been done therein for above a century past. The same county court is now revived, and will be held monthly, according to its ancient institution. The antiquity and jurisdiction of county courts in general, and that of the sheriff's of *Newcastle upon Tyne* in particular, together with some remarks on the utility or advantages which may result from the latter, are here offered to the consideration of the inhabitants of this town and the neighbourhood thereof, for the more they know it, and the practise of it, the more they will love and affect it; for who almost is there within its jurisdiction that is not, or may not sue, and be sued in it.

Master Cambden, in his *Britania*, reports, That *Alfred*, a *Saxon* king of *England*, was the first that divided the realm into shires; those shires into ridings; and those again into wapentacks, or hundreds. Some authors mention that division to have been more early. The kingdom being thus divided, every shire was entirely governed by one officer, called a sheriff.

The same king *Alfred*, at the division of the kingdom into shires or counties, instituted county courts, and established jurisdiction therein; granting power and authority to the sheriff of every county to hear and determine such matters, as by any just cause of appellation, either for law

or

or equity, should be brought unto him. By this laudable establishment, every man had means, and was authorised to sue in this court, in his own shire or county, without drawing his plea thence to the high court of justice wherein the king sat in person, as appears plainly, or may be gathered from the laws of *Edgar* the *Saxon* king: And also that no man ought to sue out of his county, without good cause, viz. 'Let no man seek to the king in matter of variance, unless he cannot find right at home; but if it be too heavy for him, then let him seek to the king to have it lightened.' The very like in effect is to be seen in the laws of *Canute* the *Dane*, sometimes king of the realm.

All justice was administered, anciently, in the court of the king's bench and county courts: In the latter, the bishop and sheriff sat to determine matters. One to judge according to common law, and the other according to the ecclesiastical law. The conjunction of which powers mutually to assist each other, is as ancient as the *English* government itself. But these powers were separated by *William* the conqueror; and soon after all the ecclesiastical business was brought into the court so called, and the law business into the king's court and county court, which last mentioned court is the same in substance and form now, as before; and to be held by every sheriff as incident or appurtenant to his office. 'The king cannot restrain any part of the sheriff's power, nor abridge him in any thing incident or appurtenant to his office.' *Milton's case*, 4 Co. Rep. 33. Every sheriff in his county court, has, at this time, cognizance of matters under 40s. by his ordinary jurisdiction; and by writ of justices, may be commissioned to try causes of 40s. or upwards to any amount. By the statute of 2d and 3d of *Edward VI.* cap. 25. county courts

courts are to be no longer deferred but one month from court to court; and so those courts are to be kept every month and no otherwise, by which act every county of *England* (concerning the time of holding the county court) is governed by one and the same law; and there is to be accounted 28 days to the legal month in this case, and not according to the kalendar month. The same law, with regard to sheriffs of counties holding their courts, is to be observed by sheriffs of cities and towns that are counties of themselves. King *Henry IV.* in the first Year of his reign, granted to the town of *Newcastle upon Tyne*, that instead of the two bailiff's, there should be a sheriff (eligible every year) who should hold a county court on *Wednesday*, from month to month, as sheriff's of other counties did; and by the same grant, the town of *Newcastle upon Tyne* was disjoined from the county of *Northumberland*. The mayor's court and sheriff's court at *Newcastle*, are modern courts in comparison with the county court, and were only established by the gratuitous favour of queen *Elizabeth*, by charter or patent in the 42d year of her reign, are separate jurisdictions. The judges lately delivered their opinion, that those courts did not interfere or disturb the jurisdiction of the the ancient county court. They were also of opinion, that the court of conscience at *Newcastle*, although it is established by two acts of parliament, viz. the 1st *William and Mary*, and 27 *George II.* has not invaded, much less destroyed the county court in claims under 40s. From whence it may be inferred that the disuse of the county court at *Newcastle* for a long time; and the sheriff's refusal to hold the same according to his ordinary jurisdiction, drew matters cognizable therein to another examination or determination contrary to the laws of this realm, the rights
and

and liberties of the subjects of this kingdom; for without the sheriff execute his office, none could have remedy in his court, in the manner intended by the charter of Henry IV. which hath been frequently prejudicial to many persons, as well as subversive of our ancient laws, that were confirmed by *magna charta*, and aided and strengthened by latter statutes, and at this time in full force in every county in *England*.

Amongst many circumstances which the revival of this court doth draw attention to, the following are hereby notified.

That most civil causes which arise in the jurisdiction of the county of *Newcastle*, may be determined in this court, by a proper jury, and at less expence than in the mayor's or sheriff's court, and with comparable less time and expence than in any of the courts at *Westminster*.

Such causes may be tried in this court within two or three court days; but cannot be tried in the corporation courts until the next jury day, which is only once a year; and I am well informed there is an instance of a jury day having been deferred three years.

The old proverb, *Delays are dangerous*, is not better verified than by tedious law proceedings, which too many have great reason to deplore.

Actions of trespass, and certain personal actions, are more proper to be tried in county courts than any other courts; for if a jury there find a verdict under 40 shillings, the plaintiff is always entitled to costs; but when such actions are in the corporation courts, or courts at *Westminster*, the plaintiff hath no more costs allowed him than damages are found by a jury, unless certain circumstances follow the verdict.

The court of conscience at *Newcastle*, has no cognizance of small debts, where the plaintiff or defendant lives out of the town and liberties; and in cases determinable in the court of conscience, the commissioners frequently oblige the plaintiff, after the debt hath been a long time contracted and he has waited long for their determination, to take his debt at very small, and inconsiderable weekly or monthly payments, which are seldom fully performed. This is a remedy almost as bad as the disease. On this account many able debtors avoid payment of their just debts, and taunting, bid defiance to their creditors.

It seems that it was formerly very common to bring causes of naval or marine cognizance from other parts of *England*, at a great expence, to be tried at *Newcastle* assizes, where a jury of the brethren of the *Trinity-house* were preferred to any other for their abilities and understanding in matters of that nature. This suggests how useful the county court may be made at *Newcastle*, for determining causes of naval or marine cognizance, on feigned or real issues, as a jury of such able and experienced men, are always to be found among the brethren of that house, who may be impanelled to try an issue of that nature, in the county court, at a very small expence, independent of the sages in the law, who are seldom much acquainted with sea-terms, and some other necessary branches of knowledge relative thereto; and how much more constitutional and satisfactory to parties, must determinations be according to the laws of the land, by a jury of twelve men, in small as well as great matters, than that unlimited and discretionary power, vested in the commissioners of the court of conscience, so called, or in arbitrators, who are sometimes as partial as the parties themselves. When arbitrators are impartial, they

they cannot often sift out the truth, because they cannot enjoin or administer an oath to the witnesses who are produced and examined.

I shall conclude these remarks, with one on that uncharitable aspersions of the person by whose means proceedings in the county court are revived, viz. that he aimed at ruining and imprisoning the poor. This calumny ought not to be entertained by any one, because no such inference can be drawn from a revival of law proceedings, that are quickest and least expensive. The gentleman's false accusers, ought to know, that after judgment in this court, no other execution can be issued out than allowed at the common law, by which law the body of the defendant could not be taken in execution, and the reason was that the body, in case of debt, should not be detained in prison, but be at liberty not only to follow his own affairs and business, but also to serve the king and his country when need should require.

PUBLICUS.

Maxims upon which the MODERN THEORY of Electioneering is established.

M A X I M I.

A Candidate who offers himself to represent the people in parliament, must never speak as he thinks; but always promise what he never means to perform.

M A X I M II.

He must exert his utmost power and influence to corrupt the morals of the people.

M A X I M III.

He must spare no expence to obtain his election, though he should sink his whole estate.

MAXIM

M A X I M IV.

If the end is profitable, the means used for attaining it cannot be wrong.

M A X I M V.

Corruption and luxury are the chief pillars of g——t, and the main principles by which a people are kept in dependence upon their superiors.

M A X I M VI.

Virtue and self-denial are the ruin of a nation: Temperance and frugality the sources of faction.

M A X I M VII.

Liberty is the privilege of none but those who are rich; the rest of mankind were all intended for slaves.

M A X I M VIII.

Every method ought to be taken to prevent the free-men and freeholders of *Great-Britain* from believing that they have any liberty after the day of election.

M A X I M IX.

Servants are not responsible to their masters; but may, according to law and precedents, perform, or not perform, their duty as they please.

M A X I M X.

Those who have power, and are able to pursue their own purposes, ought not to regard *magna charta*, or any other constitutional laws.

I shall illustrate the truth of these maxims, and set them in such a clear light, as they shall appear like the meridian sun-shine to all the electors of *Great-Britain*.

M A X I M I.

A candidate who offers himself to represent the people in parliament, must never speak as he thinks; but always promise what he never means to perform.

This maxim is so well understood by the far greatest
part

part of the candidates who have offered themselves hitherto for members of parliament, that it may appear superfluous to attempt any illustration thereof. I shall only, for the benefit of the electors of *Great-Britain*, who may not so clearly perceive the force of this proposition, endeavour to make it plain to the meanest capacity.

In demonstrations of this sort, an appeal to experience and matters of fact, will undoubtedly contribute not a little to elucidate the truth of our maxim. It is manifest that for these forty years past, all our members of p——t, when they were chosen, promised to do every thing worthy of the representatives of the people of *Great-Britain*; and yet we find very few of them, who ever paid the smallest regard to their instructions, or gave the least attention to their interest. Those sage and learned senators, who must always be supposed to have the best objects before their eyes, and must be allowed to know better than the people themselves what is good for them, have never thought it proper to make good their promises to those who elected them; but have for the most part acted in direct opposition to their warmest remonstrances. If there had not been some cogent reasons for such behaviour, as are implied in the word *must*, in the maxim, it is not to be supposed that such a number of wise men would have acted quite contrary to their promises. That a candidate who offers himself, &c. must never speak as he thinks, will appear self-evident to every person who gives himself the trouble to think in the smallest degree. Experience and matters of fact, which generally reveal the thoughts of mens hearts, shews, that the chief thing which our m——r of p——t had in their thoughts, when they stood candidates to be elected, were *places, pensions, and preferment*, and that they intended

tended, as soon as they took their seats in p——r, to vote on the side of the m——r, against the interests of the people. Had they revealed those thoughts when they offered themselves as candidates, and informed the electors that they meant to make use of them for the sake of preferring themselves, it would have marred their election, and spoiled their whole design, which no *wise men* would wish to do.

As the end of all things, though last in the execution, is first in the intention of efficient causes, so it must always be the principal object of the mind to which all means must be rendered subservient: If the end is attained, the means, which are of no more service when the end is gained, are of very little consideration; and seeing they are of no more use, when the end is answered, it would be absurd and ridiculous to think upon them any longer. Now as m——rs of p——t only give their promises, for the end of being elected, when this is accomplished, their promises are of no more service to them till another election, when they make use of them for the same purpose, and forget them for the same reasons. As a candidate, before he is elected, is in a state of dependance, he is under a necessity to do and promise many things which he does not mean to think upon, when he has gained his point; for as his circumstances then are altered, and the end for which he promised fulfilled, he has no occasion to mind his promise any longer. It would be as absurd for a gentleman to regard his promise, when he has obtained his end by promising, as for a man to plough down his crop in time of harvest, because he had made his plough, which was the means for obtaining the end of the crop. The harvest of all the promises made in electioneering, is a *place* under government, a *pension*, or a *title of honour*; but provided gentlemen

tllemen were to accomplish their promises to their constituents, and fly in the face of the m——r, their harvest would soon be shaken, and all their hopes disappointed. This is what no prudent man would wish to happen.

But to make this maxim as plain as the nose on the face of the statue in *Berkly-square*, let it be considered, when his —— came to possession the of c—n, he made some *very gracious* promises, which he has never paid the smallest regard to: Which flattering promises threw the nation into an extasy of joy, and made the people cry *vivant —x—a* for ever. The nation has now waited with great patience, these ten years past, for the accomplishment of his —— promises, and there is no appearance of their being fulfilled as yet. Now as we are certain, *infallibly certain*, that the —— can do wrong, and are sure that he has not remembered the substance of his promise contained in his printed speech when he ascended the t——e, we are as certain that those who imitate his most pious and christian example, must be right, unless such as follow an infallible director, may be supposed to err, which all men know is absurd. The generality of the people, who are always exclaiming against their members of p——t, do not reflect, that when they accuse them of a breach of promise, that they are accusing an higher authority, which these gentlemen *faithfully* imitate, and endeavour to copy.— If that maxim is true (and *Blackston* has assured us that it is) *That the —— can do no wrong*, it must certainly follow, that such as imitate his most pious and christian example, must act right. It is therefore as plain as any demonstration in *Euclid*, that if the —— can do no wrong, the representatives of the people, who imatate him, must be infallibly in the right. All this reasoning is founded
upon

upon the 21st proposition of the sixth book of *Euclid*.—
 Τα τω αὐτῷ συγγραμμῶ ὅμοια, καὶ ἀλλήλοις εἰν ὅμοια That
 right lined figures, which are like to one and the same
 right lined figure, are like to one another. Let us sup-
 pose *A* to represent *magna charta*; *B* his ———; and *C*.
 the p——t: The ——— can do no wrong, and con-
 sequently *B* must agree with *A*. The p——t *C*. is like
 his ——— *B*; and *B* is lik to *A* again both *B* and *C*,
 are like to *A*. Now as his ——— is the fountain of
 justice, and can do no wrong, though he should promise
 what he does not mean to perform, and the p——t
 should copy his example; it must follow, if the ———
 principles were conformed to justice, so must those of
 the p——t be. If the members of p——t were to
 speak as they think, and perform their promises to their
 constituents, they would not agree with the fountain of
 justice, and therefore would err most egregiously. It must
 therefore be a fair consequence, that candidates, who offer
 themselves to represent the people, must never speak as
 they think, but always promise what they never meant to
 perform. Q E D. A FREEMAN.

*Continuation of a Letter to the Freeholders and Freemen of the
 several Counties, Cities, and Towns corporate, in Great-
 Britain, &c.*

SORRY I am to be informed, that a certain venerable
 cloth, (over and above what appears in the list of new-
 made voters) have been much concerned in this wrestling
 from a free people their rights and immunities. To be-
 come fautors to such unwarrantable proceedings, to join

the enemies of established order, are actions incompatible with the characters of true and inoffensive pastors. If this be the light they let shine before men, how faintly must their good works appear at last! Preach what they will, deeds like these will oppose the belief of their doctrines. Can we wonder now why schism should the church invade? Can we wonder at the lukewarmness so much observed of late in our public worship? The good bear in themselves the image of true religion, and never can seriously conform to what interrupts the cloudless ray of just devotion. The inconsiderate must be ruled and enlightened by the force of good-example in teachers, and by that alone. Think it not, therefore, unseasonable in the writer hereof, to warn you who thus have wandered from your sacred sphere, to lay the matter to heart, and forget not the vast importance of your charge; namely, the care of immortal souls. Think then, and attempt not by wrong example to lead us into the paths of darkness and confusion.

In this very extraordinary drama, how dark soever the ignominy of the plotters, first officers, and other principal characters may appear, it is certainly a crime of a very high nature in the lower actors. These hono-
raries (if I may so call them) have hastily accepted what the ruling powers had no right (that the world knows of) to bestow, in the manner they did. It was usurping, or rather filching, another's property. The receiver is accounted guilty as the thief; and it is no absurdity to suppose, that such uncommon attempters would take away any other valuable from me, could they do it with the like impunity. Prudence will direct that no sincere confidence be placed in such uncertain integrity. To the injustice, add the nature of the gift; they take it to
serve

serve a premeditated purpose; to give their suffrage as the donors directed. Well may we account for the confusion of face in some of them. when they came to poll; an unbiassed counsellor within was not to be deceived; no evasion of the moral law could persuade! she detected, and shewed them the baseness of the deed, and pronounced it bribery; differing little from that of the most profligate, who taketh the gold in hand. Would not an impartial jury view it in the same light, and with one voice, cry out guilty! Many of them have heretofore supported a good character, let them now consider what suspicion, what an odium they have brought upon themselves, tho' fortunately acquitted by advocates in law, which perhaps may be accomplished, yet how mean, how intentionally bad they must appear to every unprejudiced mind. I am inclined to be the more particular on this point, because there be some who strenuously endeavour to excuse, and to draw the action in more agreeable colours. The laws of religion and moral rectitude, must, according to their talk, have no weight in political contests; but every thinking Briton may easily see thro' such inconsistency and finesse. Agents on pay, may think themselves right in vindicating the most indirect measures, if by these they have succeeded in their views. If they effect their own imaginary self-interest, small difference (to them) whether it be from the wages of discredit, or honour: But pity it is, such opinions should prevail in Britain!

The more we criticise the scenes, the more are we at a loss how to adjust them. We may call it the wonderful, to see such a various *persona* support an unity of action. However, we must own, nay, must admire the knowledge and dexterity of the political poet, whosoever he be.

It is really surprising, that men who are legally free of *Newcastle*, and other considerable corporations, should consent to become honoraries of *Durham*, on occasion so arbitrary. *Durham* is the great opening to an over-bearing power. If the proceeding meet with the sanction of public law, more important towns will also lose their boasted prerogative. What usage then can such expect from their fellow-freemen, who have thus attempted to lay the foundation of their mutual ruin! Besides, had they no lucrative hopes in view, there is something very low and ungenerous in striving to deprive others of a share of the public blessings they themselves enjoy, when they are equally entitled by the long established laws of their country. If the *Newcastle freeman* glories in his right of voting at elections of members for that town (unquestionably entitled by patrimony, or servitude) why should he envy the like benefit in freemen elsewhere. Whatever principle the action is grounded on, it belongs not to the characteristic of *Britons*. Well-timed was the prudent resolution of some gentlemen, who, having been solicited to be made free in the new manner, rejected it; and some there are, I am told, who, after accepting the freedom, refused to poll. Let these have the praise they deserve.

(To be continued.)

Advice to the Freemen of Newcastle.

ADVICE to the freemen of *Newcastle*, may, in many cases, extend to all the freemen in *Great-Britain*; their natural rights are common, and their dangers equal. It is now time for all who have the least regard for con-

stitutional liberty, to consider the tenor thereof, and exert the powers they are invested with to support it. Ages to come will have occasion to bless or execrate the present generation of freemen, according as they behave at the next general election. Before that period approaches, it is the duty of all, whom the constitution of *England* has entrusted with the rights of posterity, to examine with a critical accuracy, the characters of those who have acted upon the political theatre for the last seven years. The poorest freeman in *England*, has, by the laws of the land, as good a right to scrutinize the conduct and characters of those who have been entrusted with the public concerns of the community, as the highest baron in the nation; his possessions and liberty ought to be as dear to him, as to those who may look down upon him with the most sovereign contempt. Though the greatest part of the freemen and freeholders in *England*, may not have time to study the refined arts of politics, yet there is not one, who is not able by the assistance of common sense, to distinguish between a traitor to his country, and an honest supporter of the common liberties of mankind. When we hear that any of the representatives of the people of *England* debase their character by becoming pensioners to an abandoned administration; when they openly tell the world by their practice, that they serve two masters; when they solicit the votes of the unsuspecting electors of *Britain*, with a design to advance themselves into the chair of preferment, or to obtain posts and pensions superior to competent estates: Can we hesitate a moment to determine them hypocritical betrayers of their constituents, and venal worshippers of interest and power? Does it require a deep skill in politics to distinguish between a man who
serves

serves the public from a principle of patriotism, and a time-server, who veers about with every gale of interest, and is turned with every puff of preferment? Those who covet offices of state, or military employments, cannot by the laws of the *English* constitution be true representatives of the people. The interests of the crown, and those of the people ought ever to be one; but such is the infelicity of human affairs, and the imbecility of our nature, that in many instances in all ages, they have been different. The constitution has therefore wisely appointed, that the state should have servants, and the people guardians entirely distinct, lest that the dazzling splendour of court preferment should mislead the trustees of the community, or make them betray the cause of the people. Pensioners or placemen in a *British* h—— of c——s, will always be the bane of civil liberty. The freemen of *Great-Britain* ought therefore to enquire who have been, or at present are upon the list of pensioners; and they may find this secret in almost every almanack. Set them all down as cyphers against the next election. If his m—— pleases to continue their places and pensions, let them serve him; but be not you so unmindful of yourselves, families, and posterity, as to give them a hearing. Put them in mind, that they cannot serve two masters, without betraying the cause of the one or the other. When they come down, freighted with the stores of the treasury, and open houses of voluptuousness in your towns and cities, with a design to corrupt your morals, and betray your cause, shun them as you would do the pestilence, and suffer them to devour the wages of corruption themselves, and pass the time of their dissipation in absolute neglect and contempt. Every morsel of their dainties is poison, and their drink
con-

condemnation; to join in their revels is destruction; to be united with them in interest is national ruin. They will feast you for a moment, to starve you and your posterity for ages; and bribe you for the present, to sell you for ever. Search all the court calendars during the last parliament, and mark every pentioned t——r that has sat in the — of —, feasting on the wages of his country's slavery. Shall *Englishmen*, for the paltry consideration of some private emolument; for the hope of the favour or interest of some lord or baronet, (which will only last while they are slaves to their ambition) make them sell their liberties, which, to every good to man, is dearer than life? Forbid it, ye powers, which have long watched over *Britain*! Let not freemen wreath a yoke of slavery about their own necks. When the sordid sons of covetousness are preferring their own self-interest to every other consideration, and wallowing in the midst of the rotten paraphernalia of this world; accounting public virtue friendship, and national happiness as sea weed; when the upstart, unlettered mushroom of yesterday, assume offices they were never fit for, and claim honours for which they have no merit, and to which they never had any claim, except what was digged out of a coal pit, or hauled from the bottom of a lead mine, and under colour of authority, endeavour to pervert both law and justice.——Let the independent freemen of *Newcastle*, and all their friends in *Britain*, shew them, that not wealth, but merit shall bear rule: That contempt shall be the portion of ignorant oppressors, and that even mountains of silver and gold shall not preserve them from sinking into everlasting oblivion.

Suffer me to conjure every independent freeman, and freeholder in *England* to consider, that no private attachment

ment, without equal merit, can have any weight in the esteem of a true friend of constitutional liberty. Names and riches, without mental qualifications, and public virtue, are the mere bubbles of empty minds, which were never furnished with sentiments of true wisdom or honour. The name of a contested election, is a disgrace to a free *Englishman*. Where is the foundation for a contest, except when virtue has forsaken a nation, and bribery is reduced into a system? The contest is then a mark of slavery, and a public testimony that the electors are not free. Were the burgesses of *Newcastle* free, when twenty thousand pounds could give them a member of parliament? When the worthy —, with a large bag of money, and a band of ruffians, could force himself into a seat in parliament. These were glorious days, when jacobites were accounted patriots, and the friends of the *Pretender* the only lovers of their country! The freemen of *Newcastle* must remember those days with shame, and tremble at the thoughts of the like returning times. They will soon have it in their power to shew, that whatever the principles of the good — the freemen of the corporation of *Newcastle* are entirely possessed of revolution principles; that the least jealousy of any person's being otherwise minded, will be sufficient to rebroate him for ever from their esteem as a person to be trusted with the rights and privileges of a free people. The resolution which a great majority of the free burgesses of *Newcastle* have entered into, will, I hope, remain permanent, as a principle in their hearts for ever. They have resolved to spurn, with contempt, from their presence, that man who shall be so audacious as to offer to bribe them, or shall dare to open a caravanfary for entertaining epicures and drunkards, with a design to denude them

them of their senses, to obtain their votes. They reflect with shame upon the poultry three shillings, which were so frugally given to the companies near seven years ago; and should it now be advanced to as many thousand pounds, and tendered by the worthy — upon his knees, all the freemen of *Newcastle* (the den of slaves excepted) would, I trust, with one voice exclaim, "Thy money perish with thee!"

J U N I U S.

To the Editors of the FREEMEN'S MAGAZINE.

GENTLEMEN,

THERE is nothing more frequent than to hear men of *power and authority* express a kind of resentment, when they see persons of an *ordinary degree* busy themselves about what they take for the *interest* of their *country*; and are pleased to call it *saucy and impudent*, for the *scum of the earth* to offer to dictate to a *magistrate* or *member of parliament*. To be convinced of this, we need only cast our eyes on these *gentlemen* and their *creatures*, who seem to be provoked at nothing so much as the *insolence* of the *Editors* of your *Magazine*, and the *independant spirit* of the *free burghesses* of *Newcastle*; the *patriotism* of whom, according to their *doctrine*, is construed into *façin* and *sedition*.

But with humble submission to these arbitrary dominators, there have been now and then extraordinary instances of *patriotism* and *public spirit*, even among the most ordinary sort of people. The famous *Stavola* was but a poor citizen of *Rome*. The *Smith*, in the *Minorities*, who refused to put irons upon *Hubert de Burgh*, because he

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thought

thought him an *honest man*, and a *good servant* to his prince, was not of a rank to have been a *common-council man*; and *White, Reed, and Gutherie*, though common *mechanics*, have kindled a *flame*, that neither the *power or influence* of *magisterial* authority will be able to *quench*.

There is, indeed, a sort of *enthusiasm* in *public spirit*, which renders it politically prudent in *corrupt magistrates* to discourage it; and yet there is something so *great* and so *divine* in this *enthusiasm*, that men of a better turn, though they dare not encourage it, yet cannot but admire it. And it is a point that our *great men* ought to consider with attention, that wherever *corruption* becomes flagrant and universal, this *heroic lumary* of *public spirit* is most likely to appear.

Actuated by such principles, a few *honest burgessees* of *Newcastle* have been struggling these some years for their dying liberties; for, as men of sense and reflection, they could not but behold the corruption, luxury and oppression the private frauds, the public robberies, and the enormous violation of justice, under which this nation labours. They see *rapes unpunished*; *adulterers unreproved*; *barbarous murders* either *screened* by the state, or *atoned for* by *money*; they see members of p———t act contrary to their instructions, and attempting to rob them of their birth-rights. In a word, they see an universal degeneracy of manners in the governing part of the kingdom, and particularly in *N—c—le*. In this situation, my fellow burgessees, you must cry ‘*aloud, and spare not*;’ and as *Philip of Macedon* kept a page, who, to moderate his ambition, and put him in mind of his duty as a prince, was wont to awake him in the morning, with this salutation, *Remember, Philip, that thou art a man*. So we should thunder in the
ears

ears of every elector in Briton, Support your independence at the ensuing election, or be slaves for ever.

Newcastle, May 10, 1774.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

Anecdotes from Lettres Curieuses sur divers sujets.

(Concluded from page 34.)

Breakfasting, and drinking some coffee, was the first thing we did; but this only by the bye. To be short, it struck twelve, and we sat down at table. Whilst we were eating, one of Mr Greyt's children comes in, all in tears, and demands satisfaction for the wrong done him by the son of Mr de Bos Camp, who just before killed his magpie with a gun shot. The father, somewhat surpris'd to hear this, sent immediately a servant to know the circumstances of that matter. The servant came back soon after, and said, that the young gentleman, being gone abroad to shoot sparrows, saw the magpie upon a tree, and killed her without knowing her. Every body seem'd concerned for the accident; and because I could hardly comply with their grimace, my curiosity prompted me to ask them, smiling, how they came to be so uneasy at the death of such a sorry creature? They answered, very seriously, that they were not doleful without reason, since that bird, which they had kept for a long time, and which frequently visited all the inhabitants of the village in one day, spoke like a man; uttered a hundred pleasant things, and among others, told the maids in such a manner as made them break out into laughter. So, so, alwear de kan in hand? Tapt Caropie Tapt, loop nac de kelder, drinkt met gerrit. So, so, Myn Heer sal t'gelagh betaalem, &c. At these words I leave

leave you to judge of my amazement; it was so great, that every body perceived it immediately: So that I thought it was then time to entertain the company with it, the thing appeared so extraordinary, and afforded some diversion. What stuck to my heart still, was the riddle about the letters, wherein I pretended there was some mystery; but the tutor of the gentleman's children told me them. Sir, it will not be more difficult to make you easy upon that head than the other. Afterwards he informed me, that having bought an oration, which I had newly printed, he took it, the day before, and went to read it in the shade of a neighbouring coppice; and, being tired with his meditations, he sat down upon the ground, and with the end of his stick, delineated the initial letters of my name, which was prefixed to that small book; and that he added, under them, his own name, viz. *N. V.* which signify *Nicholas Uylboom.*

It is manifest, from this story, that we ought not to be hasty in drawing consequences from all events which happen us. Mr *Petot*, whilst he had a strong fancy that the letters *N. V.* meant *non ultra*, he heard a bird say, *You shall pay the reckoning*; and then saw a man run up to him with a great knife in his hand. Any one, who considers those three circumstance, must needs be sensible that Mr *Petot* was in a very great fright.

To the Editors of the FREEMEN'S MAGAZINE.

S O L I L O Q U Y.

Sir W. B. in an Antichamber reclining on a Couch.

THIS world is oddly chang'd—'tis a Guildhall,
Where every little wretch dare shew his face,
And give his betters laws.

I've

I've ponder'd much upon these vile *instructions* !
 Those were the basis of these factious times ;
 Those the origin of my fallen glory !
 A meagre, dirty, impudent banditti,
 Vile as the vilest excrements of earth,
 Assum'd a power but known to their superiors,
 And gave a walk to me and my colleague
 Invariably to stalk in !

Could I,—who never knew but to dictate ;
 The princely I, who regulated all
 Within the limits of *Northumbria's* plains,
 Yield a submission to that half-starv'd group,
 And aid their factious ends !

'Twas better far I pleas'd the horned Duke,
 And plac'd a *Lutterel* in a *Wilkes's* lap !

Here could I smile,—did not another bane
 To kind burst in reflection, upon my peace :
 'Tis the PETITION !—couch'd by the same base set,
 But to affront e'en majesty himself.

Dissolve the H—— of C——s did it pray ?
 As well beg Nature's God to melt the earth !
 Where—in what corner of this mighty globe
 Could so much wisdom be again collected,

To plan the weal of this extensive empire ?
 A body firm, consistent, wise,—and chaste
 As midnight snows, unkissed by the sun.

The thought's seditious—*Sedition* hatch'd it all,
 And in this port conceiv'd it safe to *moor* !

MOOR !—MOOR !—Aye, there's the rub !

What mischiefs by this *Moor* have not been done ?—

This liberal hand, that thousands have reliev'd,
 Whom poverty and pain had made a prey

And

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And stretch'd upon the horrid bed of torture,
Is now insulted by this factious crew,
And all my noble, princely, generous deeds
Lie buried in oblivion !——
Ill-fated Sovereign of *Newcastle's* empire !
Better had this accursed spot of earth,
With what's deem'd precious in its gloomy womb,
Been dash'd into the bosom of the deep :
'Twill prove the roughest mountain in my way
To senatorial honours !

These feuds will never cease, no never end,
This *Moor* will surely crush my great career,
And bear me to a better, peaceful world.——
My dark adviser feels not like to me :
He plann'd, he portion'd,—and I sign'd the deed ;
And when the deed was done—he call'd it law !
Alas ! how flimsy is the ground we tread
Where Lawyers point the way.——

But I'll no longer thus my mind perplex ;
Reflection but unhinges every power,
And leaves me shivering like the winter tree.——
I will command myself.——be *obstinately* firm :
So let the world roll on !

Newcastle, June 1, 1774.

SCOURGE.

To the EDITORS of the FREEMEN'S MAGAZINE.

GENTLEMEN,

Having observed in the *Newcastle Chronicle* an Inscription,
said to be engraved on the Foundation Stone of the New Assem-

bly-

bly-Room, you will please to insert the following Comment upon that elegant Inscription.

In an age, when the tide of corruption,
By R——l encouragement, deluged the land,
When Luxury had advanced to
A state of perfection,
Unknown in any former period,
The first stone
Of this edifice,
Dedicated to the most magical *Circe*,
Was laid by *W. L——s, Esq.*
On the 16th day of *May*, 1774.

— — — — —

When a stagnation
Of trade, and the high price of provisions,
Had reduced the poor to the greatest extremity;
When the bridge, once over *Tyne*
At *Newcastle*, remained
Entomb'd in the depths of the river,
A heap of ruins,
A chaos of disorder;
To their everlasting disgrace, the gentlemen of *Newcastle*
Continue to waste their time,
And spend their substance
In celebrating the rights of *Venus* and the ceremonies of
Bacchus.

Five thousand
Pounds were rais'd by subscription,
Through a vicious emulation to excel in politeness:
And land, devoted to pious purposes,
Was sold by the vicar, a thing
Unknown in any former period:
And this fabric

Was

Was raised

On the ruins of religion and the morals of mankind.

The pious function of *W. L——s, Esq;*

Engraved on brass, continues to shew the profligacy of this
age.

A humorous Story of a Surgeon and his Horse, from the Manuscript of a Journey from Newcastle to Edinburgh, Glasgow, &c. by the Author of Sermons to Asses, proposed to be published by Subscription. Rev James Murray

IT is a very disagreeable thing in travelling, to come immediately from the fragrance of a bean field, into a town or village. The odours are generally very different, and affect the fibres of the nose in a quite different manner. What we lose in sensation, may oftentimes be made up by reflection and reasoning; and objects in themselves not delightful, may, notwithstanding, be made agreeable, and afford as much real knowledge. But what has this to do with a surgeon and his horse? It is a great misfortune for people to have to send for a surgeon. And it is a great mortification for a surgeon to have no body to send for him. It is, however, necessary for the gentlemen of the pestle to have a *Rosenante* ready saddled, in case some body should call. A son of *Esculapius*, who, in the country, is called doctor, had a horse exactly the picture of *Sancho's* galloway; but his master was more like the knight of the woeful countenance than the good 'squire. He was continually riding against wind mills instead of giants; for like all knights errants, he had a wind-mill in his head.

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This gentleman, like *Dr Slop*, when he sent *Obadiab* about his instruments, wanted always to be ready; for this reason he made his man saddle his horse in the morning, and ordered him to bring him out as soon as he rose, without so much as suffering the poor animal to taste a morsel of oats, barley, or beans. This was the severe fate of *Rosenante*; and the fate of the servant was not much better. The doctor had dreamed the night before, that some body had sent for him to pare noses. Probably he had been reading *Staukenbergius* upon noses before he went to bed, which made the visions of his brain disturb him. Some ideas concerning noses had lighted upon his pineal gland, and, by wimpling through the small vessels in the brain, had at last stuck fast in the bore of the skull which leads the spinal marrow from the medulla oblongata; and there they stuck fast, and rested immoveable; they were wedged as close as it was possible for ideas to be driven into so narrow a passage; so close were they forced into the magnum foramen, that sleep was obliged to take flight, and to seek another residence all that night. So *Rosenante* was obliged to be saddled, that the doctor might be ready to ride in search of noses as soon as he could be ready.

It was past ten o'clock when I came to *Belford*, and the poor galloway was walking backwards and forwards along the street with the servant at his head; and this they had done some hours before, as my landlord informed me. The doctor will be hear just now, said an old woman out at a window; he is very busy; walk on boy, he will be soon ready, accidents cannot be helped. The servant gave a look which declared as much as if he did not believe her; and *Rosenante* looked as ill pleased as his leader; and so he might, for he had not as yet tasted his breakfast. It

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was

was now past two o'clock, and at a moderate computation, the servant and the horse had walked at least a dozen of miles travelling backwards and forwards from one end of the town to the other, to let the people see that the doctor was going to ride. The servant and Rosenante cursed him inwardly; and I dare say they could not help it, for both of them stood need of their breakfast. He'll come at last, said I, to my landlord; I'll be hanged if he does, said my landlord. He must be reading *Slaukenbergius* upon noses, thought I to myself. My landlord said he was not reading at all, but w——g. There is no occasion for that, said our mistress; for he has a wife of his own. There are too many addicted to that vile practice, added she, and the court is to blame for it; for every apothecary's apprentice wants now to imitate the court in —— In what, said my landlord? The mistress said no more.

It was now past four o'clock; the doctor ordered in his horse, and took some more time to consider the doctrine of noses. He wanted the people of the town to think that he was hurried with business; and for that reason ordered his horse to be walking ready before the door. Then something new would come in the way, which hindered him from mounting; and frequently the hurry went off, and the doctor remained at home for the whole day. I pitied his horse.

FREEMEN'S MAGAZINE.

THE free burgesses of *Newcastle* being deserted by their magistrates, and opposed by them in every step they took in their petition to the throne, we shall give our readers an account of a few of their proceedings before the signing and sending away of the under-written petition. As none of the richer sort of the corporation, at first, appeared in this cause, they were at a loss for one to fill the chair; at a general meeting they proposed to be held at the *Forth-house*. They justly considered, that a person of some character and dignity would add weight to their proceedings, and remove the aspersions which were cast upon them, on account of their meanness and insignificance. Sir *Francis Delaval* was proposed, and immediately applied to, who came to town with all expedition, and was appointed chairman. *George Guthrie* was sent as a messenger from the freemen, mounted on a gallows, called *Liberty*, and rode in character to *Seaton Delaval*, waited upon Sir *Francis*, and was politely received. Sir *Francis*, without hesitation, entered into the spirit of their proceedings, and shewed great zeal in promoting the petition.

"Order is heav'n's first law; and this confess,
Some are, and must be, greater than the rest."

POPE.

FELLOW BURGESSES,

AS there must be, in all well regulated governments and communities, a due subordination; so there ought always to be a proper respect paid to all worthy magistrates. It gave me, therefore, not a little pleasure to see such a decency observed by us, at our guild last *Monday*: But, at the same time, it must be acknowledged, that on the dissolution of that court, our mode of expressing our dissatisfaction (on the petition having been discountenanced) was very gross and blameable; though I really believe we were misled into that ill behaviour, by the indiscretion (not to give it a worse name) of our common serjeant, or our common cryer.

I cannot but take notice here, that one transaction of the present administration more immediately concerned us; which, as it was totally repugnant to sound, national policy, so it will prove particularly detrimental to this place and neighbourhood. One would have hoped, therefore, that such treatment would have induced our magistrates, rather to have shewn less, than more, compliance than others, to shun an administration!

The rejection of the petition, by their worships the magistrates, is, however, fellow burgesses, by no means a proof of its impropriety; no; for the same measure has not only been adopted, but unanimously approved of, by one of the most opulent, most extensive, and most important counties, in *Great-Britain*; and surely it would be highly immodest, if not impudent in us to suppose, that one of the largest counties of *England*, should not be able to afford,

at least an equal number as sensible and knowing men as our corporation!

Let us, however, my fellow burgesses, be quiet under this disappointment; and let us comfort ourselves with reflecting, that, our opinion in this case, co-incides with that of some of the most able, most amiable, and most respectful characters of the age we live in, namely, *Sir George Saville, Sir George Armytage, Sir Robert Bernard*, and many more, all men eminently distinguished.

Thus you see, fellow burgesses, if we are deemed by some, to have greatly erred, on this important subject, yet even such must allow, that we have erred with exceeding good company.

ANGLO-BRITANNUS.

Newcastle, Oct. 10, 1769.

Newcastle, Nov. 11, 1769.

AT a numerous and respectable meeting of the free burgesses and freeholders of this town and county, on *Wednesday* last, *Sir Francis Blake Delaval, Knight of the Bath*, (in consequence of a previous invitation) was unanimously voted into the chair. The business of the meeting was opened by one of the body, which was taken up by the chairman; who, in a very elegant and masterly speech, explained the propriety of the meeting. He entered with accuracy into the foundation of their complaints, and, with great strength of argument, supported the measure of a petition to his majesty for a d——n of p———t. A petition was, in consequence, unanimously voted, and two were produced and read; but the preference was clearly given to the latter, which was ordered to be engrossed, and prepared with all expedition for
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signing. This meeting reflects the greatest honour upon the free burgesses, who, notwithstanding their numerous appearance, conducted themselves with the greatest order and regularity.

AT a very numerous and respectable meeting of the independent burgesses and freeholders of this town and county, held at the *Forth-house*, on *Monday* last, Sir *Francis Blake Delaval*, Knight of the Bath, in consequence of a resolution of the first general meeting, resumed the chair, and opened the intension of the present in a short, but spirited, speech; after which, Sir *Walter Blackett*, and Mr *Ridley*, our worthy representatives, who honoured the burgesses with their presence, desired to be heard. Sir *Walter Blackett* spoke first, and observed, that he had publicly disapproved of several measures of the present ministry; but could not reconcile to himself either the signing or presenting the petition to the throne at this juncture. Mr *Ridley* spoke next, and allowed that several of the late measures of administration were, in his opinion, erroneous and truly blameable; that he himself had publicly disapproved of many of them, particularly that resolution of the house of commons, for which we seemed principally to seek redress by the petition. He admitted that the present mode of proceedings was legal and constitutional, and the petition itself, in its nature, moderate and good; but that he did not chuse to sign it, being strongly apprehensive that if the prayer of it should be granted, and a dissolution of parliament, in consequence, take place, we should only change for the worse. Mr *Ridley*, however, very politely offered to present it to his majesty, and then withdrew.

Upon

Upon which the question was put, whether Mr *Ridley* should present it or not, when it was unanimously carried in the negative. It was then put who should, and Sir *Francis Blake Delaval* was requested *nem. con.* to present it.

The burgesses thought, as Mr *Ridley* did not chuse to sign it, it would be imposing a difficulty upon him; therefore declined accepting his offer.

The chairman repeated his sentiments of the necessity, as well as the propriety of the petition, very politely thanked the company for their confidence in him, and promised to present it to his majesty, if required.

The petition was then produced, and before one o'clock was signed by near 300 burgesses, and since continues to be signed with great success.

Newcastle, Nov. 18, 1769.

Newcastle, Dec. 29, 1769.

Yesterday se'nnight the petition of this town was sent by express to Sir *Francis Blake Delaval*, in order to be presented, before the meeting of parliament, to his majesty, and is, viz.

To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty.

The humble PETITION of the Free Burgesses of the
Town and County of *Newcastle upon Tyne.*

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the free burgesses of the town and county of *Newcastle upon Tyne*, truly sensible of the many inestimable blessings which this nation has enjoyed, under the government of your majesty and your illustrious predecessors of the house of *Brunswick*, beg leave, with all affectionate sub-

submission and humility to throw ourselves at your royal feet, and humbly lay before your majesty our complaints of the measures adopted by some evil-minded persons, who, we apprehend, have advised and supported a violation of the first principle of that constitution, unto which we owe the relation that so happily subsists between your majesty and the subjects of these realms.

The right of election being the only security of all our rights, we cannot forbear being alarmed at a late unprecedented seating of a candidate in the house of commons, who was not chosen by the people; and notwithstanding the application of the electors, by an humble petition to that honourable house, yet their legal and free choice continues hitherto wholly defeated. By this act of violence, we see, with the greatest concern, a precedent of the most dangerous and alarming tendency to the rights and privileges of your faithful subjects; and should be wanting in duty to your majesty, to ourselves, and to posterity, did we not unite with our fellow-subjects, in appealing to your sacred person, from whom alone we can hope for redress.

Permit us, therefore, royal sire, to implore your gracious interposition on behalf of your injured people, that you would be graciously pleased to exert that prerogative which the constitution has so wisely and properly placed in your majesty's hands, by sending your faithful subjects to a new election of representatives, and thereby enable us to make choice of men, who, by their steady adherence to the true principles of the constitution, will ever support the honour and dignity of the crown, and the inestimable rights and privileges of the people, on which the prosperity and happiness of your majesty's kingdoms ever depend.

To the ELECTORS of GREAT BRITAIN.

GENTLEMEN,

IN time of security, when prosperity smiles upon the land, the eloquence of an angel would not be attended to; but, when princes, to become sovereign masters, trample under foot, without shame or remorse, the most sacred rights of the people, attention is excited by the most minute object, and even the voice of a man so unsupported as myself may have effect upon the minds of the public.

If by collecting into one point of view under your eyes the villainous measures planned by princes to attain absolute empire, and the dismal scenes ever attended on despotism, I could inspire you with horror against tyranny, and revive in your breasts the holy flame of liberty which burnt in those of your forefathers, I should esteem myself the most happy of men.

Gentlemen, the present parliament, by law, must soon expire; and no dissolution was ever more earnestly wished for by an injured people. Your most sacred rights have been flagrantly violated by your representatives, your remonstrances to the throne artfully rejected, yourselves treated like a handful of disaffected persons, and your complaints silenced by pursuing the same conduct which raised them. Such is your condition, and if such it continues, the little liberty which is yet left you, soon must be extinguished; but the time for address is now approaching, and it is in your power to obtain that justice you have so many times craved in vain.

As long as virtue reigns in the great council of the nation, the prerogative of the crown, and the rights of the subjects, are so tempered that they mutually support and

re-

restrain each other: but when honour and virtue are wanting in the senate, the balance is destroyed; the parliament, the strength and glory of *Britain*, becomes a profligate faction, which, partaking of the minister's bounty, and seeking to share with him the spoils of their country, joins those at the helm in their criminal designs and supports their destructive measures; a band of disguised traitors, who, under the name of guardians, traffic away the national interests, and the rights of a free-born people: the prince then becomes absolute, and the people slaves. A truth of which we have unfortunately had but too often the sad experience.

On you alone, gentlemen, depends the care of securing the freedom of parliament; and it is still in your power to revive that august assembly, which, in the last century, humbled the pride of a tyrant, and broke your fetters: but to effect this, how careful must you be in your choice of those into whose hands you shall trust your authority?

Reject boldly all who attempt to buy your votes; they are but mercenary suitors, who covet only to enlarge their fortune, at the expence of their honour, and the interest of their country.

Reject all who have any place at court, any employment in the disposal of the great officers of the crown, any commission which the king can improve. By men thus dependant, and of which the senate is chiefly composed at present, how can you hope to be represented with fidelity?

Reject all who earnestly mendicate your voice; there is no good to be expected from that quarter. If they had nothing at heart but the honour of serving the public, do you imagine that they would submit to act such a disgraceful part? Those humiliating intrigues are the transactions of vice, not of

vir-

virtue. Merit indeed is fond of honourable distinctions ; yet satisfied with proving worthy of them, it never debases itself to beg them, but waits till they are offered.

Reject men of pompous titles ; among them there is little knowledge, and less virtue : nay, what have they of nobility but the name, the luxuries and the vices of it ?

Reject the insolent opulent ; in this class are not to be found the few virtues which are left to stock the nation.

Reject young men : no confidence is to be placed in them. Wholly given up to pleasure in this age of degeneracy ; dissipation, amusements, and debauchery, are their only occupation ; and, to support the expensive gaieties of the capital, they are ever ready to act with zeal in the interests of a minister. But supposing them not corrupt, they are but little acquainted with the national interest ; besides, naturally incapable of long continued attention, they are impatient of restraint, they would have nothing to do, but to give their votes, and cannot attend to what they call the dry business of the house, and fulfil the duties of a good senator.

Select for your representatives men distinguished by their ability, integrity, and love for their country ; men versed in the national affairs ; men whom an independent fortune secures from the temptations of poverty, and a disdain of ruinous pageantry from the allurements of ambition ; men who have not been corrupted by the smiles of a court ; men whose venerable mature age crowns a spotless life ; men who have ever appeared zealous for the public cause, and have had in view only the welfare of their country, and the observance of the laws.

Confine not your choice to the candidates who offer themselves ; invite men worthy of that trust, wise men who

desire to be your representatives, but cannot dispute that honour with the rich without merit; who labour by bribes to force it out of your hands; do it in such a manner, that for the pleasure of serving their country, they shall have no occasion to dread the ruin of their fortune; and scorn even to eat or drink at prostituted tables.

The utmost efforts will be exerted, as usual, by the ministry to influence your choice. Are the alluring baits of corruption to triumph over your virtue? Is the *British* spirit so sunk that none durst scorn to receive a bribe? When your great common interest ought to direct you, shall the selfish passions dare to raise their voice? Are they worthy to be indulged at such a price? Behold the dismal scenes arising from neglect of national interest; behold your senators busy in making, altering, and amending acts for securing the property of their dogs, whilst half of the subjects, lingering in misery from the villainy of monopolizers, cry to them for bread; behold your country bleeding at the feet of a minister of the wounds she has received.

Gentlemen, the whole nation cast their eyes upon you for redress; but if your heart be shut to generous feelings, and justice to your fellow subjects cannot move you, let your own interest at least animate you.

To you is left a power to secure the liberty of the people, or enslave the nation; during the time you proceed to election you are, it may be termed, the arbiters of the state, and can teach those to tremble before you, who would make you tremble before them. Be made sensible of the importance of your functions; let honour raise its voice, and a becoming pride elevate your minds. How can the dignity of your office be united with the infamy of corruption?

Most

Most of the candidates are lavish of fawning caresses, and spare no baseness to gain you to their interests, but look upon you with disdain, from the instant they have extorted your votes. Resent such affronts, reject their hypocritical courtesy, think on the insolent contempt which follows; and fix your choice upon men who are conscious of what they owe to their constituents.

Parliament under undue influence will do no act to promote the public welfare: Nay, those who have carried their election with money, not satisfied with neglecting your interest, treat you as a mercenary gang of slaves; eagerly seeking to be repaid any way, they traffic away your rights, and use the power you have trusted them with, to ruin you. Are the baits of corruption so attractive as not to be counterbalanced by the solid advantages tendered by virtue? But what are the bribes taken for votes, to the losses suffered by a neglect of your interests, to the advantages you would reap from being represented with ability and fidelity?

Besides what you owe to your country and yourselves, consider what you owe to posterity.

How careful were your ancestors, although with hazard of their lives, to transmit those rights as entire to their children as they had received them from their fathers? What they did with labour, you may do with ease; what they did with danger, you may do with safety. Will the holy flame of liberty, which burnt in their breasts, never burn in yours? Will you disgrace the names of your forefathers? Will you not shudder with horror at the idea of injuring your posterity? Is the age of liberty passed away? Shall your children, bathing their chains with tears, one day say, These are the fruits of the venality of our fathers?

Gen-

Gentlemen, with virtue and courage a people may ever maintain their liberty: but when once this inestimable treasure is lost, it is almost impossible to recover it; and it is very near being so, when electors set a price on their votes.

M A X I M II.

On the THEORY of ELECTIONEERING.

A candidate must exert his utmost power and influence to corrupt the morals of the people.

IT will be easy to demonstrate the truth of this maxim, from the experience of upwards of forty years; and to shew its utility for answering the purposes of government, in whatever hands it may happen to be. After the accession of the house of *Brunswick* to the throne of *Britain*, it is well known that the tories and jacobites endeavoured to restore the *Pretender* to the crown, and for that purpose made a strong push to have the house of commons filled with creatures of their own principles, had not Sir *Robert Walpole*, by the weight of the gold of the treasury, fairly baffled their measures. This minister, whose sagacity enabled him to see a great way into the human heart, soon discovered, that the influence of money prevailed more with the greatest part of people, than their regard to any king that ever swayed a scepter. He was wise enough to open the almighty sluices of the *British* treasury, and thereby to deluge all the schemes of *St Germain*, and the opposition of discontented jacobites in *Great-Britain*. By corrupting the morals of the people, by a system of bribery, unknown in any former period, he preserved the revolution and *Hanoverian* succession. He, by an invisible agency, made the

free

free subjects of *Britain* make choice of such representatives, as he knew would favour the schemes of the ministry, which, at that time, were to support a protestant succession on the throne of these kingdoms. The lower part of the electors in these lands, who seldom enter deeply into the schemes of politics, unless when they are oppressed with taxes, or kindled into opposition with the feelings of poverty and hunger, are easily soothed by the flattering temptation of money in hand, or a place or a pension for life. Sir *Robert* understood how to make the treasury circulate for this purpose, and by corruption and bribery, supported the house of *Hanover*. Even those in the opposition made use of this maxim to support the rebellious interest of the *Pretender*; and there are numbers yet alive in *Newcastle*, who remember how zealously S—W——B—— practised this maxim, by spending many thousands, to corrupt a party, to keep alive the almost expiring interest of the *Chevalier de St George*.

The doctrine of this maxim has been so well illustrated, by the practice of both parties, for these forty years past, that it has now obtained a prescriptive right to be an established law in the police of this nation. Some narrow-minded people affirm, that it is a great sin in candidates for cities, counties, and boroughs, thus to corrupt the morals of the people; because it brings many of them to poverty, and some of them to the gallows. But it is easy to shew the foolishness of this objection. The notions of moral good and evil, have much changed in *Britain* within these forty years; for in those days of religious bigotry and superstition, it was accounted a sin for any person to break the ninth commandment, by committing adultery; but now, very few pay any regard to that precept, except his majesty,

jeſty, and the vulgar part of mankind, who are every day making nearer approaches to the examples of their betters. And even though a certain number of the lower ſort of people ſhould be hanged, through the influence of corruption; yet, as it answers a valuable purpoſe upon the whole, ſuch trifles are not to be regarded. It is only but loſing a few to preſerve the reſt of the body politic; which can no more be accounted an error, in the modern practice of policy, than that order, which, it is ſaid, was iſſued to kill five and twenty perſons in *St George's Fields*, to let the people ſee how the third regiment of guards could perform their exerciſe, and kill the people without murdering them. It ought to be conſidered, that the rules of court policy and morality, have no connection with one another. They are quite different ſystems, and are not obliged to agree. What is a ſin againſt the moral law, may be altogether conſiſtent with ſound policy in an enlightened age. The biſhops have confirmed this, by their moſt reverend example, as well as by their doctrine; for though, in their ſermons, they tell us, that we ſhould do as we would be done by; yet, when they are upon the bench, in the character of politicians, they do the very reverſe of their own doctrine. Now from this it is manifeſt, that they conſider the moral and political ſystems, as totally different. When a member of parliament, in electioneering, corrupts the morals of the people, he does no more than what he is taught by the biſhops to do, by keeping up the true diſtinction between morality and policy. And truly, if this diſtinction were not ſo evidently ſet before the ſubjects, once in ſeven years, they might be ready to forget it, and perhaps confound two things, which, in their own nature, are diſtinct. It was obſerved, that this maxim is of great utility, be-
cause

cause it will answer the purposes of government at all times, and may be applied to different ends with great success. Sir *Robert Walpole* supported the cause of the *Brunswick* family, and the interests of the whigs by observing it; but it may as well, when the ministry are friends to the old cause, be applied in supporting it. Some ill-natured, discontented people have affirmed that the present system of politics as formed upon this maxim, is practised with a very different design from that of Sir *Robert Walpole*, and seem to hint, that tories and jacobites are now the chief managers of this maxim.—But this is all owing to their envy at the merits of Lord *Mansfield*, Lord *Bute*, and Sir *Gilbert Elliot*, because they are *Scotchmen*. The preferring of jacobites to high posts and pensions, is quite consistent with this maxim, and the principles of Sir *Robert Walpole*; for by corrupting, and bribing them, they are made good subjects of the present government, and brought over from the interests of the *pretender*. It is known that the two preceding princes which filled the *British* throne, would never favour, or trust any who were of those principles; but this proceeded from those strict *Hanoverian* rules which they had received in their youth, which they could never get clear of; or, perhaps from the turnips which they were so fond of introducing into *England*.—But a prince born in *Britain*, and educated by a master who had more liberal sentiments, must be supposed to be more liberal and more free from bigotry, and to be possessed of a larger degree of charity and benevolence. If therefore the practice of this maxim could support the *Hanoverian* succession in the days of Sir *Robert Walpole*, and also keep alive in those days, the country interest; if it can change jacobites into loyal subjects, and answer every
form

form of government, it must be necessary to be practised by all candidates who offer themselves for members of parliament.

Q. E. D.

To the EDITORS of the FREEMEN'S MAGAZINE.

MAY the liberties of *Great-Britain* be immortal! And they will be so if that *constitution*, whose genuine effects they are, be maintained in purity and vigour. A perpetual attention to this great point, is therefore the interest and duty of every man in this great kingdom; and there is scarce any man who may not contribute to the advancement of it in some degree: The old may inform the young, and the young may animate the old, even they who are the most retired from the scene of business may be useful in this cause to those who are in it; to those who are heated by action, distracted by cares, or dissipated by the pleasures of the world: I say they may be useful, (and I add that they ought to be so,) to the utmost that their situation allows. The *British* constitution is the business of every *Briton*, and their study in particular should be to secure the *independency of parliament*, and the freedom of elections against corruption, the means of which are continually multiplying by the increase of the revenue of the crown, of debts, of taxes, and of officers and powers to raise those taxes. Surrounded as we are, however, by these dangers, it is a happiness indeed, to reflect, that nothing can destroy the constitution of *Britain*, but the people of *Britain*; they surely never can become so degenerate as to be induced to choose persons to represent them in parliament, whom they have found by experience to be under influence; if they should, then may the enemies of our constitution boast that they have got the bet-

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ter of it, and that it is no longer able to preserve itself, nor to defend *Liberty*: Then will that trite proverb be verified in our case, "That the corruptions of the best things are the worse;" For then will that very charge in the state of property and power which improved our constitution so much, contribute to the destruction of it, and we may even again wish for our former little tyrants, the great lords, and great prelates, to oppose the incroachments of the crown; how preferable will such objection appear when we shall see the whole nation oppressed by a few upstarts in power, often the meanest, always the worst, of their fellow-subjects; by men who owe their elevation and riches neither to merit, nor birth, but to the favour of weak princes, and to the spoils of their country, beggared by their rapine; then will the fate of *Rome* be renewed in some sort in *Britain*. The grandeur of *Rome* was the work of many centuries, the effect of much wisdom, and the price of much blood. She maintained her grandeur whilst she preserved her virtue; but when luxury grew up to favour corruption, and corruption to nourish luxury, then *Rome* grew venal; the election of her magistrates, the sentences of her judges, the decrees of her senate, all were sold; for her liberty was sold when these were sold, and her riches, her power, her glory, could not long survive her liberty. She who had been the envy, as well as the mistress, of nations, fell to be an object of their scorn, or their pity. They had seen and felt that she governed others; they beheld her now governed herself, by the arbitrary will of the worst of her own citizens, and the worst of both sexes, of the worst of human kind;—by *Caligula*, by *Claudius*, by *Nero*, by *Messalina*, by *Agrippina*, by *Poppæa*, by *Narcissus*, by *Calistus*, and by *Pallas*; by princes that

were stupid and mad, by women that were abandoned to ambition and to lust, by ministers that were emancipated slaves, parasites, and panders, insolent and rapacious; in this miserable state, the few that retained some sparks of old *Roman* spirit, had double cause to mourn in private, for it was not safe even to mourn in public. They mourned the loss of the liberty and grandeur of *Rome*, and they mourned that both should be sacrificed to wretches whose crimes would have been punished, and whose talents would scarce have recommended them to the meanest offices in the virtuous and prosperous ages of the common-wealth: Into such a state, (the difference of times and other circumstances considered) at least into a state as miserable as this, will the people of *Britain* both fall, and deserve to fall, if they suffer, under any pretence, or by any hands, that constitution to be destroyed, which cannot be destroyed, unless they suffer it, unless they co-operate with the enemies of it, by electing those to represent them who will betray them.

AMATOR PATRIÆ.

*** *We are much obliged to Amator Patriæ for his favour, and will be glad of his future correspondence. Our readers will undoubtedly thank this gentleman for his seasonable, and sensible observations upon the great object which Englishmen must always have at heart, when they consider their true interest.*

The 'Squire and his Tenant.—A Dialogue.

Ten. GOOD morrow, if it please you, Sir.

'Sq. **G**A good morning to thee, Robin; how are all your family?

ten.

Ten. Bravely well, Sir, blessed be their maker for it.—
Here is a pure fine morning, I think, Sir.

'Sq. It is a fine morning, indeed, and there appears a fair prospect of a plentiful hay harvest. I fancy most of your meadows are almost ready for the scythe?

Ten. I was preparing mine yesterday; and now I am going up to the fell, to fetch me some scythe-sand: But if it please you, Sir, I would desire the favour of your advice in a different matter, if it suits you, Sir, before I walk further.

'Sq. Thou knowest, *Robin*, that I am always ready to give thee my advice, such as it is; and thou art welcome to it. What is thy present business?

Ten. They say, Sir, that we are going to have a new general election of members of parliament all over the nation.

'Sq. I believe we are. What of that?

Ten. My father left me a freehold house and a field, in the *West Loaning*, yonder, which is rated as worth some six pounds a year; and my neighbours tell me, that this same freehold, as I may say, makes me a qualified man to vote for two members, to serve for our county.

'Sq. That is very true, *Robin*; thou hast as good a right to vote for two knights of the shire as I have.

Ten. Indeed, Sir; but you know you are my landlord, and does not that, as I may say, make a wide difference between us?

'Sq. None at all, in this case. The noble privilege hath been handed down to thee, by the bravery and wisdom of glorious ancestors; and I hope it will never be in the power of any *political schemer* to deprive thee, or thy posterity, of so valuable an immunity; and I hope also,

Robin

Robin, that thou wilt never abuse this precious part of thy constitutional liberty, by giving thy vote to any offering candidates, but such as are properly qualified, by suitable knowledge and wisdom; and whose *active* integrity, and laudable firmness of mind, may be likely to render them, in *reality*, the true supporters and defenders of our national rights and liberties. The times are precarious times, and call aloud to every *British* freeman to be on his guard in the choice of future representatives. They should be *men*! Lovers of their country, in despite of the sordid impulse of *self interest*! Incorruptibly *sound* in public virtue, and long *practised* in the heavenly delight of universal benevolence. Such should they be.

Ten. Then Sir, will you please to accept of both my votes for your own self? I'm sure I know no better man.

'Sq. Thou must never flatter me, *Robin*, I have no claim to such exalted virtues: And besides, all my estate, (great as thou supposes it) is not sufficient to entitle me to these public honours.

Ten. God bless me, landlord! are gentlemen's minds and morals only valued according to the rental of their landed estates, as I may say?

'Sq. Somewhat like it, as our laws now stand.

Ten. I am sure Mr *Modest*, our curate, often says, that very many of our rich great folks are, now a days, but so and solivers. They very seldom read the bible, or other good books; and as seldom *retire* to think seriously. Nay, I have heard him preach to a congregation, how that learning and good manners alone make the *gentleman*; but ah! says he, shaking his head, where shall we find the rightly accomplished now?

'Sq. Mr *Modest* is a good sort of a man; he hath much
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genuine learning, and would scorn either to preach or *write* against the liberty of the subject, for any *Northumberland living* whatever. This I know of him, and yet I hope we may still meet with some worthy personages, sufficiently qualified to represent us properly in the ensuing parliament; and in whom we may safely trust.

Ten. Indeed, as I may say, Sir, I have been of a long time for speaking to your honour about this same general election. I assure you, I have heard very good people say, that our nation has not been over well used of late, by a very many of *those* who were appointed to take care of our rights and liberties; and therefore it is thought adviseable to *petition* these same gentlemen, to give themselves no further trouble about our public welfare, but to let *new men* come quietly into their honourable stations. Lord, Sir, you may hear twenty stories of some blameable measures, both above and below, wherein candidates have acted diametrically opposite to the will or desire of their constituents. Pray, did you never hear, Sir, about certain *American* affairs, or charters, I think they call them, and about a *Newcastle moor*, and many much more besides?

Squ. Well, well, *Robin*, keep thy thoughts close, and thy countenance open. If the public, or any part of the public, have been aggrieved, by the *omissions* or *commissions* of their representatives, let us most heartily join with the number of those sons of freedom, who dare *act* with firmness and moderation, in endeavouring seasonably to obtain redress.

Ten. You must be pleased to tell me then, Sir, to *whom* would you have me give my vote; for our wife says, that if I do not vote on the same side you do, my lease, which
has

has not two years to run, will be taken from me; and then what shall we do?

'*Sq.* I tell thee, what, *Robin*, I will look about, and make proper enquiry concerning the abilities of the candidates who may offer, and then freely declare to thee which of them *I think* best deserving the majority of voters; but thou shalt never be designedly, or forcedly biased by any persuasion of mine; such a conduct would render myself unworthy the liberty I so much cherish and adore; and to remove all thy wife's mistaken apprehensions, give me thy hand, and call upon me sometime in the afternoon, when I will renew thy lease by an article, for nine years longer, and upon the same conditions.

Ten. God bless you, Sir; I will be sure to come.

'*Squ.* Do so; fare thee well.

Brampton, June 1774.

WESTERN.

For the FREEMAN'S MAGAZINE.

GENTLEMEN,

AS all the friends of the constitution have for some time thought that the corruption and luxury of the great; if not strenuously opposed by the virtuous few, will, in a short time, put an end to the *British* empire, you will permit one of the lowest of the burgesses of this corporation to wish you success in your undertaking; and to hint to you, that if your work is carried on with proper spirit, it may be a means of procuring for us two representatives in the ensuing parliament, who will think it their duty to obey their constituents in their senatorial capacity, and to oppose the despotic measures of the present corrupt administration.

It

It will not admit of a doubt, however it may be sneered at, and opposed by the great, that no member of the present house of commons, who did not vote for shortening the duration of parliaments is eligible to a seat in *St Stephen's* chapel: I could wish that this truth was seriously attended to by all the voters in *Great Britain*; neither should their deliberations stop here; they should reflect whether the member who absented himself when *Mr Sawbridge* made the motion, is not as culpable as he who voted against it.

The burgesses here will do well to consider whether it is adviseable to re-elect their present members or not. Their intentions, and these of the magistracy, and common-council, are sufficiently obvious. They have, to all intents and purposes, declared themselves to be a distinct, and separate body from the freemen, and that they have properties in which their brethren have no right. So far are they from looking upon themselves as stewards and servants of the public, that they have, in effect, declared that the burgesses shall have no privileges, which they, in their great wisdom, do not think proper to allow them.

It is a doubt with me whether any of our magistrates ought to represent us in parliament or not, while they are of their present complexion. Can it be supposed that we should have been put to all the trouble and expence about the *Town-Moor*, and the act for inclosing it, if we had been represented by two gentlemen who had not been magistrates?—certainly not.—If we do not deserve to be slaves, we will resent their behaviour at a proper time and place.

Before I conclude, allow me to thank the present worthy

thy committee for the generous protection and support they have so disinterestedly given us. I would advise that a committee should be annually elected on *Michaelmas Monday*, to be a check upon our rulers, as it is well known we do not elect them, but that they chuse one another.

A poor, tho' Independent Freeman.

Arguments for Responsibility of Members to the People, from political Disquisitions. (Continued from p. 60.)

WHEN we elect persons to represent us in parliament (says a judicious writer) we must not be supposed to depart from the smallest right which we have deposited with them. We make a lodgment, not a gift; we entrust, but part with nothing; and were it possible that they should attempt to destroy that constitution which we had appointed them to maintain, they can no more be held in the rank of representatives, than a factor, turned pirate, can continue to be called the factor of those merchants whose goods he had plundered, and whose confidence he had betrayed. The men whom we thus depute to parliament, are not the bare likeness or reflexion of us, their constituents; they actually contain our powers and privileges, and are, as it were, the very persons of the people they represent. We are the parliament in them; we speak and act by them: We have therefore a right to know what they are saying and doing. And should they contradict our sense, or swerve from our interests, we have a right to remonstrate, inform, and direct them: By which means we become the regulators of
our

our own conduct, and the institutors of our own laws, and nothing material can be done but by our authority and consent.

The tyranny of the *East-India* governors, who, on account of the distance of their situation from the seat of government, think themselves, in a manner, out of its reach, shews how dangerous it is to trust power without responsibility.

A few years ago the wise justices of *Westminster*, gave for one night a discretionary power to the constables to apprehend and secure all street-walking women. What was the consequence? Those imperious brutes took up a number of industrious washer-women going to their business before day-light; crammed them into a place of confinement like the black-hole at *Calcutta*, in which one, or more, were fairly suffocated, and found dead next morning.

See a *British* house of commons plundering the people of above half a million to pay court debts, A.D. 1773, at the same time examining with great severity, into the plunderings committed in *Asia*, by the *East-India* company's servants, the accusers and the accused alike guilty, because alike secure, as they imagined, from question. Thus the poet of nature represents Lady *Macbeth* encouraging her husband to murder his sovereign under his own roof, by the consideration that there was no-body who dared to call them to account.

In other countries, we find a connexion held between representation and responsibility. The tribunes of the people, in the times of the commonwealth of *Rome*, had no will of their own: They were the mere speaking trumpet of the people. And had the people been regularly

into districts, in such a manner as to prevent the corrupt populace of that great city from carrying every point by mobbing, all would have been well.

The deputies from the *Swiss* cantons to the general diet, receive instructions from their constituents, and think themselves obliged to conform to them.

The procuradores, or members for *Castile*, in the corte held at *Madrid*, in the beginning of *Charles V.* excused themselves from granting the supplies he desired, because they had received no orders from their constituents, and afterwards receiving express orders not to do it, they gave *Charles* a flat denial.

The same was the custom in *France*, before that country was enslaved. The general assemblies being laid aside, the same custom is still (latter end of the 17th century) used in the lesser assemblies of the states in *Languedoc* and *Bretagne*. The same is observed by the deputies of the cities of *Germany* to the diets.

The deputies or members of the parliament of *Paris*, when all *France* was like to be ruined by the confusions in the minority of *Lewis XIV.* were afraid to sign a compromise for restoring the public quiet, lest their constituents should not approve of the terms. Our deputies are not afraid to approve the measures of the court, though they know them to be the execration of their constituents. Before the people of *Ireland* obtained a limitation of the time of their parliaments, they instructed their members, and many places went so far as to demand of them, before election, an oath, that they should vote for the measure.

The deputies sent by each of the *United Provinces* to the states-general, are responsible only to the respective provinces

vinces which send them, and not to the states-general. In *England*, our members do not hold themselves responsible to their constituents, but to the house, and the house to the prime minister. Thus the people who ought to be all, are nothing. The sagacious *Dutch* have guarded against the danger of lodging too irresponsible a power in the hands of their supreme assembly, or giving their deputies leave to sell them. The states-general cannot, without the unanimous consent of all the provinces, (who are too numerous to be bribed) make peace, nor war, nor raise troops, nor make laws affecting the whole republic. Nor can they repeal an ancient statute or regulation, nor erect a stadtholder, otherwise than at the risk of their heads, which they accordingly hazarded for the public good, A.D. 1668, when, to check the growing power of *Lewis XIV.* at the instance of *Sir W. Temple*, they signed the triple alliance, and elected the prince of *Orange*, stadtholder, through fear of danger from slow counsels.

The people of *New-England* keep up the right of instructing their members.

The following Observations on Reports of Attorneys of the Corporation Courts at Newcastle, in Respect to the County Court lately revived there, will, perhaps, open the Eyes of the Binded or Mised, and be agreeable to some impartial Readers of your Magazine.

SINCE proceedings in civil causes in the county court at *Newcastle* have been revived, and every one who hath any matter determinable there, may have it done expeditiously, and at small expence. Many of the attornies
above.

above-mentioned have industriously propagated, that the ordinary proceedings in that court, will be attended with more charges than a plaint in the mayor or sheriff's court. Such false reports are only calculated to prejudice the minds of persons from resorting for justice to that court, in preference to the corporation courts. This is their reason for fulying this pure stream. Some strictures on the above premature and false assertions are therefore presented through the channel of this Magazine, to refute such misrepresentations, and caution the credulous against them.

It is observable, that the county court has been disused at *Newcastle* for determining civil causes about a century past, and though diligent search has been made for the ancient proceedings in that court, and for the fees and charges of such proceedings, none are yet found. With what assurance then can any take upon him to assert that the charges will be more than the charges in the corporation courts?

In regard to the fees and practice of county courts in general, they are set forth in two law books, known by the titles *Curia Comitatus Rediviva*, and the *Compleat Court Keeper*, by which it will appear the fees of county clerks attornies and bailiffs are much less in a cause from the commencement to the end, than the fees and charges of the prothonotary attornies and serjeants of the mayor and sheriff's court at *Newcastle*, published in a table thereof, anno 1767, and to be seen in *William Gibson, Esqr's* office, the prothonotary of those courts; but as the two first mentioned books are not in the hands of many other persons, than those in the law profession, hereunder are extracted from those books, and shewn the principal fees and

and charges in a common course, where nothing extraordinary hath intervened; and also queries to such items or articles as are not set forth in the said books: opposite to the said articles, in another column, is shewn the practise, fees, and charges in the county court at *Durham*, which were lately settled and augmented with great judgment, and published for the use of practises and others.

Supposing the practise and fees of the county court at *Durham*, or something similar thereto, should be adopted in the county court at *Newcastle*, as the most perfect and legal mode of proceedings: The fees and charges of a common cause will then be much less than the fees and charges now are in the mayor or sheriff's courts at *Newcastle*, as will appear to every one that will give himself the trouble to compare the items or fees, of those courts together; not to repeat here what is mentioned in the *Freemen's Magazine* published last month, of the advantages of commencing suits in the county court, preferable to the mayor's and sheriff's courts.

Having shewn the above assertions premature and false, every one is left to judge if the authors of such misrepresentations are not more moved by interest, or envy, or both, than a love of truth. But before I close these observations, it will not be amiss to expose another ungentle practice of the corporation attornies, viz. That of refusing to permit attornies of superior courts to practise in the corporation courts, which they certainly may do by the statute, 2 *Geo.* II. cap. 23. sect. 10. viz. "Provided also, and it is hereby further enacted, that it may be lawful, from, and after the said first day of *December*, 1730, for any person who shall be sworn, admitted, and inrolled, to be an attorney in any of the said courts of king's bench,

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common pleas, exchequer, courts of great sessions, counties palatine of *Chester*, *Lancaster*, and *Durham*; or who shall be sworn, admitted, and inrolled to be a solicitor in the said court of chancery, court of equity in the exchequer chamber, court of the dutchy chamber of *Lancaster* at *Westminster*, courts of equity of the counties palatine of *Chester*, *Lancaster*, and *Durham*, and of the great sessions in *Wales*, or any of them as herein before is directed, by and with the consent and permission of any attorney in any of the said other courts of record at *Westminster*, courts of the counties palatine of *Chester*, *Lancaster*, and *Durham*, courts of exchequer at *Chester*, and courts of the great sessions in *Wales*, such consent being in writing signed by such attorney, and in the name of such attorney, to sue out any writ or process, or to commence, carry on, prosecute, or defend any action or actions, or any other proceedings in such court, notwithstanding such person is not sworn or admitted to be an attorney of such court:” Norwithstanding the said act, the corporation attornies, to give some colour to their refusal, on the 22d of *June*, 1764, I think that is the date, made a rule in the sheriff’s court, “ That no plaint or entry shall be made in that court, but where an attorney of that court should be first consulted therein, and being present, or by order of writing should direct the entering or levying such plaint.”

To do the gentlemen justice, it is well known they have religiously refrained from giving any such orders in writing. What an unfortunate thing it is for an attorney, tho’ he (like *St Paul*) has studied at the foot of *Gamaliel*, and is otherwise never so well qualified to practise in his profession, yet not having served a clerkship to an attorney of the two famous courts at *Newcastle*, cannot practise in
his

his own name, but only in the name of an attorney of those courts which they never grant! Is it so of attorneys of inferior courts that they cannot practise in superior courts? No! It appears by the above-mentioned clause 2 *Geo. II.* that attorneys of certain inferior courts may be admitted to practise in any superior court in their own name, or in the name of an attorney of such courts; And why not *visa versa*? The reason is the same: Why not the practice, unless it is to prove what none will dispute, that reason and practice sometimes move contrary wise of the corporation attorneys?

The following determination will reflect more light on this matter.

The court of common pleas in hiliary, 31 *Geo. II.* in the case of *Hatchett*, attorney, against *Hughes*, were of a different opinion from the above narrow-minded gentlemen: An action for fees and disbursements for business done by *Hatchett*, was brought by him in the court of great sessions in *Wales*, in which court he was not an attorney; and upon demurrer to the plaintiff's replication that he had not alleged that he practised in the name of an attorney of the court of great sessions; it was argued by Serjeant *Prime*, that an attorney of C. B. might practise in any other court in the name of an attorney of that court, altho' he had no leave or authority so to do under such attorney's hand; and that it was not sufficient to bar the plaintiff of his action, or to subject him to the penalty in the statute, or to make the proceedings in the name of such attorney void: And of this opinion was the court; and judgment was given for the plaintiff. Whence it appears, that an attorney of any superior court may use the name of an attorney of an inferior court, *nolens volens*, if he has a mind to do

do it without prejudice to him or his clients. I could instance another case to the same effect, but the above is full and clear to the point. I am, yours,

PUBLICUS.

A TABLE of the FEES, &c.

Extract from the two books above-mentioned. Extracted from the table of fees and charges in the county court at *Durham*.

To county clerk for warrant to bailiff	18	To county clerk for every capias	1 3
Attorney's fee thereon, query?		Attorney's fee	1 8
Making summons in writing from the bailiff		For copy thereof and service	1
To serve on defendant, query?			
Bailiff's fee summoning defendant	4		
Drawing declaration	1	Drawing and ingrossing every declaration and copies thereof	5
Copy to file	1	Filing the same	8
Copy for defendant's attorney, query?			
County clerk entering a rule	4	County clerk for Rule to plead	6
		Attorney's fee	1 8
		Copy and service of the rule	1
Notice of trial, copy and service query?		Notice of trial, copy and service	3
Instructions for, and drawing brief and examining witnesses query?		Instructions for, and drawing brief and examining witnesses	1 8
County Clerk for subpoena, or warrant to testify in which four witnesses may be inserted	8	County clerk for subpoena for every witness	4d.
Attorney's fee, query?		Attorney's fee	1 8
Copy and service on each witness, query?		Copy and service on each witness	1 6
Allowed to witnesses, query?		To every witness who attends to give evidence at the jury day, if he lives in or within five miles of <i>Durham</i>	2s.
		And if he lives above 5 miles	3s.
County clerk for venire	2	County clerk for venire	4
Attorney's fee, query?		Attorney's fee	1 8
For every court day wherein any proceeding is done, allowed attorney's fee	2	Attending court when the cause is either tried or put off by defendant	3 4
		To council, if any ss.	

Query?

Query?		County clerk calling every cause	6
Query?		Attorney's fee on verdict	1 8
Jury, each man	8	Jury rs. bailiff 1d each cause	
Query?		Drawing bill of costs, fair copy, and attending taxing	1
		County clerk's fee thereon	6
County clerk for executing by	} 2	County clerk's fee for every original execution	} 8
Fi Fa			
Attorney's fee, query?		Attorney's fee	1 8
Bailiff's fee	2	Bailiff for his fore fee 2s.	

Continuation of a Letter to the Freeholders and Freemen of the several Counties, Cities, and Towns corporate, in Great-Britain, &c.

IT was natural to suppose that the honorary freemen would have been rejected by the m—y—r, at their first entrance into court, both as to the manner of their being made free, and the by-law on which they claim, not having yet received the ratification of higher powers; but so far from it, that some men of title and senatorial distinction, spoke warmly in his behalf, justifying his conduct in the admission of them; and they in their turn audaciously tendered their poll. One of them (if I mistake not, some small time ago an envoy at a foreign court,) being civilly asked how long he had been a freeman? His excellency replied, he really could not tell, as he did not keep an almanack in his head! Another gentleman thereupon, declared himself to this effect, That he was sensible of, and a friend to, the most happy constitution of this country, but so much from thinking the present measures, with respect to *Durham*, injurious to the rights of freemen by patrimony, or servitude, unconstitutional, or in the least inconsistent with the public liberty, that he had

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himself

himself accepted admittance on the same terms which his excellency had done, and would therefore demand to give his poll at that election." But withal, no solid reasons were advanced to support such assertions; no fit, or proper display of the fundamentals of *British* liberty! General Lambton's friends were of different sentiments, and like the generous supporters of liberty, most nobly, and emphatically expressed their disapprobation of all he had urged. May they long live to cherish the noble principle! And may the wished-for opportunity at length come, when the choice of our representatives maybe again secured to us, and to our posterity; and in the mean time, let the enemies of our happy constitution, please themselves with the insatiable thirst they have after power, and be loaded with the infamy such deserve!

The injured party forbore further opposition in court, that the peace and decorum of the poll might at least be preserved.

What a dreadful spirit must that man be of, who gluts his appetite, and puts it in the balance against his fellow-citizens, and the universal good of his country! Every thing that is bad may be feared from men who are suffered to go on in wickedness without controul. A power to do good, gives opportunity to do great evil! The magistrate therefore ought to be under the greatest restraint, and every crime of his ought to be more penal, as it is more pernicious, than a crime of the same kind in a private person. Ill precedent is most dangerous, as we justify ourselves by the wicked examples of our superiors; a sufficient reason for providing against them by the most heavy penalties. Well will it be for the chief m—g—te, in the present case, (by whose assent this injury was effected

ed) if, in the retired moments of life, he can acquit himself of all charge of blame. To have found a candidate capable of accepting a majority of votes on any terms, will avail him nothing: He must be convinced that he hath not violated the great trust reposed in him, but thro' the whole transaction, performed with justice, and exact impartiality.

“ To protect the innocent, and punish the oppressors, are the hinges and ligaments of government, the chief ends why men enter into societies. To attain these ends, they have been content to part with their natural rights, a great share of their substance and industry to quit their equality, and submit themselves to those who had no right to command them. For this, millions live willingly in an innocent and safe obscurity to make a few great men, and enable them at their expence, to shine in pomp and magnificence: But all this pageantry is not designed for those who wear it; they carry about them the dignity of the common-wealth; the honours which they receive, are honours paid to the public, and they themselves are only the pillars and images, upon which national trophies are hung: For when they are divested of these insignia, no more respect and homage is due to them, than what results from their own virtue and merit. Yet such is the depravity of human nature, that few can distinguish their own persons from the ensigns and ornaments which they wear, or their duty from their dignity: There seems to be a judgment upon all men in certain stations, that they can never think of the time when they have been, or may again be out of them. A good magistrate is the brightest character upon earth, as being most conducive to the benefit of mankind; and a bad one is a greater monster than
ever

ever hell engendered; he is an enemy and traitor to his own species: Where there is the greatest trust, the betraying it, is the greatest treason. Men who are advanced to great stations, and are highly honoured and rewarded at the public cost, ought to look upon themselves as creatures of the public, as machines erected and set up for public emolument and safety: They ought to reflect, that thousands, ten thousands of their countrymen, have equal, or perhaps greater qualifications than themselves; and that blind fortune alone has given them their present distinction: That the estate of the freeholder, the hazard of the merchant, and the sweat of the labourer, all contribute to their greatness; and when once they can see themselves in the mirror, they will think nothing can be too grateful, nothing too great, or too hazardous to be done for such benefactors. They will consider, that no uncommon application, or distinguishing abilities, will justify this superiority; that many of their fellow-subjects possessing equal merit, take much more pains for much less considerations; nay, that the business of their own employments is mostly executed by inferior officers for small rewards; and consequently, that their great appointments are given to secure their fidelity, and put them far above, and out of the reach of bribery and corruption. They ought not to have a thought which is mean or little; their minds are not to be in the dirt, whilst their heads are in the clouds; they ought to instil and inspire virtue, resolution, and public spirit, into the inactive mass, and be illustrious examples of every great and noble quality. But if they can sink so low beneath themselves; if they can so far descend from the dignity of their characters; if they can choose so to grovel upon the earth, when they

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may ascend to the heavens; and be so poor and abject, as to combine and confederate with pick-pockets and common rogues; betray their most solemn trusts; and employ all their power and credit to destroy that people, whom they have every motive, which heaven and earth can suggest, to protect and defend: Then, I say, such wretches ought to be the scorn and detestation of every honest man; and new kinds of vengeance, new tortures, and new engines of misery, ought to be invented to make their punishments as much exceed common punishments, as their crimes exceed those of the worst sort of common malefactors: And as their rewards surpass these of the best and worthiest citizens in other stages of life, and circumstances of fortune, there is no analogy between the crimes of private men, and those of public magistrates; the first terminate in the death or sufferings of single persons; the others ruin millions, subvert the policy and œconomy of nations, and create general want, and its consequences, discontents, insurrections, and civil wars at home; and often make them a prey to watchful enemies abroad."

The reader will pardon me, if I have taken up too much of his time. The inserting the foregoing quotation, seemed to me, necessary, and I shall leave every one to apply it, without giving my own sentiments: I mean not to condemn; not to excuse.

What I have advanced in my own homely garb of language, I know to be the well-weighed sentiments of several freeholders and free-burgesses, who, conscious of the blessings they enjoy from the well-regulated liberty of their country, think it their incumbent duty to oppose every measure that is manifestly projected to destroy it.

Permit me, gentlemen, the concealment of my name as
writer

writer hereof, not through any fears I have of the displeasure of those from whom I differ, but rather because writings are frequently estimated according to the small, or great figure their known authors make in the world, and not from the truths they are meant to convey. The same narrow partiality which moves the actions of many, is most commonly the criterion and director of their judgment. I shall reap a lasting satisfaction if I have been able by this humble remonstrance, to awaken the attention of those from whom the injured freemen of the city of *Durham* can best hope protection, and a proper memorial of their present critical situation.

I remain your friend,

And countryman,

March 1, 1762.

ADVICE to the FREEMEN of NEWCASTLE.

AS every month brings you nearer that grand climatic, when you must shew yourselves free, or merit slavery for ever; it may be necessary to lay before you a few things which are of the greatest importance to yourselves and posterity. It is highly probable, that your present members of parliament, who have betrayed your confidence for these seven years past, will attempt, by either flattery, bribery, or corruption, to procure your votes to secure themselves a seat in the house of common. At present, you are resolved and determined against every species of seduction; but it will be necessary to confirm your present purposes in time coming, to use all methods you can devise to guard against temptation.

You ought, in the first place, to avoid all correspondence with

with men, whom you know are, by their principles, unqualified to represent a community of your professed sentiments. You are professed friends to liberty, and the *English* constitution: your instructions to your members, your petition to the throne, your remonstrance to your sovereign, have proclaimed that you are resolved to be free. Be ready to you purposes, and suffer it never to be said, that the free burgesses of *Newcastle*, have begun in the *spirit*, and ended in the *flesh*. If you ever permit the enchantments of two men, hackneyed in the arts of seduction, to make personal addresses to your passions, they will be ready to lull your spirit of patriotism asleep, and shake your resolutions which you have worthily formed, and for these six years nobly supported. You ought to keep the doors of your companies, and houses, bolted against such betrayers of your liberties. It is even dangerous to speak to them, or to associate with their friends, till that critical period is over. You may, in an unguarded moment, destroy what you have nobly supported for these seven years. The least thing that the public can now expect from the freemen of *Newcastle* is, that every hand which signed the petition and remonstrance, will be against S— W—— B—— and Mr R——y; and that they will encourage and support one another in maintaining those principles which they have signed with their right hands so very lately.— Those men who refused your instructions, despised your petition, and laughed at your remonstrance, can never be again trusted by you. They will sell your most sacred privileges, as they would have done the *Town-moor*, if you had permitted them. It is contrary to the genius of your corporation to have any magistrate for a member of parliament; in those capacities, they act two ways against you, when

when you differ with them in principle. They will attempt to wrest your laws of your town in the one capacity, and maintain that violation in the other. At home, you will have those who should support your rights against you; and in parliament, they will oppose you. It is not fit that any magistrates should be members of parliament; for they cannot do duty in two places at once. Consider the consequences of your suffering yourselves to be seduced by any of the present majority of the house of commons. Elect them once more, and your nation is ruined; your posterity will have reason to utter execrations against their progenitors; and curse the day when their fathers, for a luxurious dinner, or a poultry bribe, enslaved their posterity. Can you remember the days that are passed without shame and blushing, when S— W—— B—— opened the sluices of corruption amongst you? when he, who hath received the epithet of *good*, was a pattern of all sorts of *licentiousness* and *dissipation*. In the name of all goodness, *what is good*? Can the man be called good for giving a few bounties to his creatures, when he is a patron of *drunkenness*, and all sort of looseness? Suffer me to appeal to the *taverns* and *streets* of *Newcastle*, when *'squires* and *mechanics*, *baronets* and *tradesmen*, lay wallowing in the puddle of spilt wine, and broken glasses; when *hats* and *wigs* floated in *tides* of liquor, were drenched in the *nasty mire*, disgorged from *surcharged appetites*. When a loose band of hired *ruffians* on each *side*, stood ready armed with clubs and bludgeons to support the freedom of election. An estate of 50,000 l. a year, though distributed to the poor, to eternity, will never be sufficient to atone for the injury of those days. Can righteous heaven accept of the poultry refuse of the superfluity of a gentleman, for the injury done

done to the morals of thousands of rational creatures? When this *good* man pleases to reflect, what a large estate he enjoys, and how he has applied it, there is a power within him, can tell him, whether he has done right or wrong. And the freemen of *Newcastle* can easily determine, whether he or the corporation have been most gainers by his being free of their town.

Shall this hero of electioneering attempt once more to open the flood gates of drunkenness and bribery amongst the freemen of *Newcastle*? let them suffer him to ramble by himself, or let the m——s attend him; let those gentlemen have the glory of being *dupes* to his artifice, and assist him in *swallowing* the liquor, and disposing of the bribes necessary for such an occasion. But if a hand that signed the petition and remonstrance, touch a *glass*, or *finger* a guinea, it will be fixed infamous to all generations. Disgrace will attend the man, who shall thus give the lie to his own right hand! The freemen of *Newcastle* have Mr R——y also to guard against. He means to have himself or his good son S— M—— to represent that corporation. Gentlemen, you certainly know him by this time, and can scarcely fall a dupe to his sophistry. He told you once, that he never had place or pension under the government. But what was the meaning of those images of military servitude, at the hats of his livery servants a few years ago? Were they not symbols signifying that M—— R—— was agent victualler to the navy in the northern parts? Alas, poor *Matt*! he has never been remarkable for speaking ingenuously. Perhaps he served the g——t for nothing, for he is allowed to be very disinterested. If this be true, his merit will be the greater. But you ought to look to yourselves, and remember what is past. Insist up-

on the strongest securities from the men you choose for your representatives. Those freemen, who belong to this corporation, who are scattered abroad in different parts, it is hoped, that as they wish once more to return and see their privileges secured to them, and their heirs, they will join with their brethren at home in opposing those men who have made use of their own money to deprive them of their rights. Those ought to be united with their brethren, in a strenuous opposition against such dangerous representatives. When the post brings them a call to attend the election, with the advice of money to bear their expences; when the coach or chariot is offered to carry them, let them consider, that the meaning of all this is to betray them, and to procure their votes, to serve venal and ministerial purposes. If they mean, at this time, to serve their country, they may do it by saying nothing; the residentary burgesses, who have preserved their *Town-moor* for them, will, at the election, banish those tyrants, who intended to deprive their widows and fatherless of that small item which proscription and charter has given them. It will be an ungrateful thing, in those freemen, who have not been present, to support the expence of the late trial, concerning the *Town-moor*, if, at the next election, they shall vote for men, who intended to rob and enslave them.

Had the design of their members and m——s succeeded, at their return to their native clime, they would have seen their milk measured by the m——r and c——n c——l, and their butter weighed in the scales of despotism. Even an oath administered by A—n P——h would not have been sufficient to have procured admittance of a cow to the *Town-moor*. Their brethren at home have preserved their rights, and may more safely be trusted than men who have

have exerted all their influence and power to deprive them of their privileges. You, the brethren of the corporation of *Newcastle*, who reside in different parts of the island, ought to consider, and not be wanting to support the worthy freemen at home, who have so nobly maintained your cause as well as their own, in your absence. Your names will shine in the annals of history as free and disinterested burgeses, if you now contribute your assistance to your friends, at this critical period.

J U N I U S.

To the EDITORS of the FREEMEN'S MAGAZINE.

GENTLEMEN,

AMONG the multitude of essays that appear in your useful publication, in opposition to our present members, it is surprising to see none written in their defence. But whether the unwillingness of our members and their creatures to appear in the field, proceeds from this, that men are sometimes ashamed to avow and defend those principles upon which they act; or that in the fullness of their power, they despise their adversaries, and look over them, or affect so to do, it is a very bad symptom; it is either a proof that their measures are by no means defensible, and too weak to be tried at the bar of reason, or to be supported by truth and justice; or that their persons, as well as their practices, are universally odious: However this may be, it is most certain, that in a free government like ours, the people have, and will demand, while that freedom exists, their right to censure or applaud the conduct of their representatives.

But

But this I leave to the pen of *Junius* in his monthly advice to the free burgesses of *Newcastle*, while I humbly offer a few hints to their consideration :

As the overthrow of bribery and corruption must give the greatest satisfaction to every independant *Briton*, I would earnestly recommend to you my fellow burgesses, and request, that as you intend to invite two gentlemen to represent you in parliament, to proceed without any other motive, without any other influence whatsoever, in the choice of such, except the good opinion you conceive of their integrity, honesty, and love for their country ;— Then you will have a right to expect that they will attend the duties of that trust, which they have taken upon them. For they will be bound by all the ties that can engage an honest man, to attend at all times to the instructions of their constituents, and endeavour to procure such salutary laws as shall be most conducive to the happiness of this nation. And likewise they must engage to you that no private engagement, no family interests, will ever prevail upon them to keep from that place, where the absence of one honest man may occasion the loss of the public liberty.

They must likewise promise to join heartily in endeavouring to procure us the restoration of those laws mentioned in the instructions to our present members ; laws which we once enjoyed, and without which, liberty will soon become an empty name, a word made use of only to amuse the vulgar.

And as the impunity of public criminals may tacitly encourage and authorise crimes of the like nature ; as the weak successors of a wicked administration may think their power established, their wantonness supported, and their

their retreat indemnified, by screening or adopting those measures, in opposition to which they had thrust themselves into employment; they must use all constitutional means in prosecuting that national justice, which by an abandoned majority has been so treacherously retarded, in examining the complaints of an injured people, and in branding the authors of those evils, by which this nation must be enslaved, since the liberty of the whole depends only on the integrity and virtue of a few.

In a word, they must hold no communication with those who no sooner scent the air of a court, than they forget the friends who confided in them, and the country which nourished them, but must ever exert an *English* spirit, in opposing all the wicked designs of bad men.

Newcastle,

MARCUS AURELIUS.

June 16, 1774.

The M——s of N———le being, as it were, godfathers to the deceased POPULARITY of S— W—— B——, it is supposed that they will erect a marble monument on the TOWN MOOR, near the side of the WALLINGTON ROAD between the bull-ring and the gallows, to its memory; and as an inscription may be wanted, the following is offered to their service, by their ADMIRER.

HERE LIES

The remains of the POPULARITY of S. W. B.

Which departed this transitory world

The * day of 1774;

It was produced by

Corrupting the people, deluding them by fair speeches,

And

Drown.

* The day the act passed for improving the Town-moor.

Drowning their senses in oceans of LIQUOR.

For its support,

He gave large gratuities

To many of his *needy dependent tools*;

Who, as in duty bound,

Loudly trumpeted forth his FAME.

Reader, that thou mayest form some idea of the merits of

The deceased,

Suffer me to tell thee,

That for its increase,

A large *sum of money* was infamously squandered

To gain

A SEAT IN PARLIAMENT;

Another was given

For making the adjoining turnpike,

For our easy passage,

To his

Country seat:

And, as the tolls could not pay

The interest thereof,

(Although gates were erected within five miles of each other)

The principle was

Generously transferred towards

The support of

The INFIRMARY.

Another sum was bestowed

On the building a bridge at HEXHAM,

(Which the county of *Northumberland* is now to maintain)

By which his *estate there*,

Is greatly advanced in value.

When the *bridge at Newcastle*

Was carried away by a flood, in 1771,

He

He did *what man could do to alleviate the distress of the people,*
By endeavouring to deprive them of COALS;

Unless they would purchase them

At an advanced price, from his

DEPENDENT CREATURES.

At his instigation, the justices of Nor———d,

Excused the undertakers of the repairs of the bridges,

Paying a large sum of money,

Due for their rebuilding; and the farmers of lands there

Were *taxed double,*

Of many,

Those are a few instances of his

MUNIFICENCE

And

PUBLIC SPIRIT.

He lastly attempted to enslave

The Free Burgesses of this town,

And to deprive

THEM and their WIDOWS

Of their

PATRIMONY. THIS MOOR,

In which last struggle,

Notwithstanding our support,

Fell this great man's

HONOUR.

In grateful remembrance

Of his *friendship to us,*

And constant adherence to our favourite principle,

Jacobitism,

We the AL———N of this T———N, have caused

This monument to be erected,

And this inscription engraven

Thereon.

A CHARACTER.

WHEN *Sandwich*, steady in fair Virtue's cause,
Stands up to vindicate our injur'd laws;
Still treads the virtuous path he always trod,
True to his friend, and faithful to his God:
Pleas'd, I survey, in these degenerate days,
One character, that justly merits praise;
Virtuous in public as in private life,
To all men just, and faithful to his wife.
He ne'er a life of lewd debauchery led,
In the rank sweat of an adult'rous bed;
He ne'er destroy'd his revern'd tutor's peace,
By laying waste the virtue of his neice;
He ne'er expos'd a friend to public shame,
By his example, harden'd to blaspheme;
Ah, no! he treads the path he always trod,
True to his friend, and faithful to his God.

T H E FREEMEN'S MAGAZINE

The Proceedings of the Free Burgeſſes of Newcastle for a Remonſtrance to the Throne, with ſeveral Letters previous and ſubſequent thereto, which appeared in the London Papers, will, we preſume, be acceptable to many of our Readers.

To the Free Burgeſſes of Newcastle upon Tyne.

THE melancholy ſituation to which this country is now reduced, calls for, and deſerves the ſerious attention of us all. The many intolerable grievances which we have ſo long lain under and complained of, inſtead of being liſtened to and redreſſed, are rather confirmed; and by a late deciſion in the h— of c—, we ſee our conſtitution, as a free people, no longer exiſts. The conſequences of this determination are too plain and palpable not to alarm the dulleſt apprehenſion: for if his majeſty's miniſters can once invalidate the choice of election, they may do it frequently,—they may do it always. Since, therefore, all hopes of parliamentary redreſs may be now given up, let us have recourſe to ſome other methods preſcribed and warranted by the conſtitution; and although petitions are deſpiſed, remonſtrances may perhaps be regarded. The collective body of the Engliſh nation are now called upon to the defence of their own cauſe; and I truſt that the people of England are neither

deficient in spirit nor understanding, though they have been treated by ad——n, and their venal crew, as if they were destitute of sense to feel, or spirit to resent.

It might be naturally imagined, that the least attempts to expose falsehood, and bring villainy to light, would meet with the candour, and universal approbation of the public: But, alas, there seems to be a partiality in the breast in favour of error and delusion. The perpetrators of the deepest iniquity are more sure of applause than prosecution: And we see in our senate a majority, so servile, so abject, and depraved, as to rise up in defence of the culprits, and ward off the punishment of their guilt, by prostituting those powers which heaven bestowed for the protection of virtue.

Providence has, however, permitted knavery for the suppression of evil, and the genius of *Britain* seems indebted to the depravity of hireling scribblers for the defence of her honour. The abuse of the venal writer reverts on his patron; and the poison with which he would destroy his country, works only to give the alarm.

The city of *London* has again shewn a noble example to the whole nation. Be not you, my fellow burgesses, backward in so glorious a cause. Although your petition has not yet been answered, your remonstrance perhaps may. Remember it is your duty to preserve our excellent constitution as entire as you have received it; and posterity will applaud you for the deed.

A FREEMAN.

Newcastle, March 12, 1770.

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Newcastle, May 10, 1770.

THIS day a meeting of the free burgesses and freeholders of this town, was held at Mr *Parker's* Long-room, to consider of a remonstrance to the throne, when *Thomas Delaval, Esq;* was called to the chair, and opened the business of the meeting in a most manly and sensible speech; after which he desired to know if it was the sense of the company to send a remonstrance to the King, and the question being put, it was unanimously agreed to. A remonstrance was then read, and approved of, without one dissenting voice, and immediately signed by the stewards of twenty-three companies, who were deputed for that purpose by a majority of the several freemen at their respective meeting-houses the preceding day, and there are not six-and-twenty companies now subsisting; also by a number of freeholders present on the occasion. Thanks were then returned the chairman for the honour he did the meeting; and Sir *Francis Blake Delaval*, Knight of the Bath, was approved of to present the remonstrance to the king, which was, at five o'clock this evening, sent to him by express for that purpose.

To the KING's Most Excellent Majesty.
The humble ADDRESS, REMONSTRANCE, and PETITION
of the FREE BURGESSES and FREEHOLDERS of the
Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne.

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Free Burgesses and Freeholders of the town and county of *Newcastle upon Tyne*, emulous of following the great example of the city of *London*, (notwithstanding the independency of its first magistrate, and of the two public

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spirited sheriffs, has given such particular offence to your ministers) think ourselves called upon to repeat our unwearied application to your Majesty for redress of unexampled grievances.

We cannot but feel, with the much injured county of *Middlesex*, for the wound given to them, to us, and the constitution; and are warmly animated by the late noble behaviour of the independent electors of *Westminster*, whose actions have best contradicted the fallacious language of your Ministers, when they confidently assured your Majesty, that only some few misguided persons had complained of their determination by the house of commons, but who, nevertheless, found themselves under a necessity of beholding, with silent confusion, a virtuous remonstrant rewarded by a grateful tribute of a free people.

We point out this picture of the people with the more satisfaction, that your Majesty (notwithstanding misrepresentations) may give us credit for being a majority equally warm in the true service of our country and of your Majesty; and equally out of the reach of that baleful influence, which, some way or other, has hitherto succeeded (we fear) in concealing from your Majesty, the wishes of an affectionate, but afflicted people.

We therefore humbly presume to re-solicit your Majesty to exert that constitutional authority which the laws have vested in you for the benefit of your subjects, by dissolving the present parliament; and most earnestly implore you to remove for ever from your councils, those Ministers, who, not content with having violated the freedom of election within doors, have advised your Majesty to dismiss from your service the first officer of the law, for his faithful endeavours to support the liberty and constitution of his country;

try;

try; and this measure is still the more afflicting, as our last hopes amongst your Majesty's servants were placed in his acknowledged integrity and ability, from whence we flattered ourselves the truth might reach your Majesty's ear, in spite of every confederacy against it.

The grateful acclamations of your whole people (a term your Ministers affect to hold in contempt) would incessantly await your Majesty, if you would deign to relieve the afflictions of millions of your subjects, by the dismissal of those pernicious counsellors.

For while the affairs of this great nation, are, by a kind of over-ruling fatality, placed in the incapable and mercenary hands of men, who, under the specious title of Ministers, are collusively transferring from one to another the exclusive right of sporting with their country, we have every calamity to dread, both at home and abroad, as well from their want of experience, as from their want of integrity.

To the Freeholders of the County of Durham.

AT a time, gentlemen, when you have publicly declared your disapprobation and contempt of the measures of his majesty's m——rs, and with all humility petitioned our gracious sovereign to put an end to a parliament, in which prudence forbids the people to place any further confidence; is it not alarming, that the men whom you have entrusted with your share of the legislature, and the protection of your lives and properties, should, at the very time you address your sovereign, rise up in opposition to your sentiments and interests? Have you not declared that the right of a free election is congenial with

with the very essence of government established in this realm; and that this valuable, dear-bought right, you have seen presumptuously violated in the case of a late *Middlesex* election? That this daring and unparalleled invasion of the constitutional franchises of electors in general, aggravated as it is by the previous stratagem to effect it, is a grievance that deeply affects you, and all others his majesty's free born subjects. You have declared all this, and all this your representatives have regarded with contempt. Is it that they are not invested with your power in the senate; or that they exercise a power there inherent in themselves? But I will tell you what the learned Lord Coke says,—“It was the law and custom of parliament, that when any new device was moved in the king's behalf in parliament, for his aid, *or the like*, the commons might answer, that they tendered the king's estate, and were ready to aid the same, *only in this new device they dare not agree*, without conference with their counties:” Whereby it appears, that such conference is warrantable by law and custom of parliament. Hence it is evident, that the sentiments of the constituent body should uniformly be the sentiments of their representatives. But diametrically opposite is your present case. You have seen one of your members rise up in opposition to your complaint, and plunge a dagger in the bosom of expiring liberty! Mark him, ye supporters of the *British* constitution! Mark the man, who has betrayed the confidence of his constituents for the *precious* price of *Landguard* Fort. Judas betrayed his master, went out, and hanged himself.

A FREEHOLDER.

Gateshead, March 28, 1770.

To

To the P R I N T E R.

*Optima est ista respublica in qua plurima virtuti premia
propositi sunt.*

SOCRATES.

S I R,

IT has been a general observation among us, whether writers or no, that could elections be canvassed in the manner literally prescribed by our constitution, without entailing the common exorbitant expences upon those candidates that offer themselves to our choice, we might reasonably expect an amendment in our political system. That wished-for period, give me leave to say, is at length opening to our view, in the *Westminster* election; an election that will serve (whether considered for the regularity maintained upon the occasion, or for the unprecedented generosity of the electors) to immortalize that celebrated city to after-ages, as a monument to heroism truly divine. We have often been amused with that *ignis fatuus*, called speculative patriotism. We have often been gratified with railing invectives against a corrupt ministry; with plans proposed for a moral reformation in the body politic; but till this noble, this disinterested display of the true *amor patriæ*, few are the instances of a hearty essay in the cause. From the above national triumph, however, over ministerial confederacy, a dawn of real liberty appears in the horizon; and, it is to be hoped, will, by a proper deportment, soon attain an honourable zenith. Let us view it with an attention, with the impartiality it so justly deserves; the future will be pleasing, from the magnitude of the objects in the field. On the one side, is presented to the eyes, a scene of indigested chaos and anarchy, a degeneracy in our manners, a total disregard to the beauties of decorum, an atheistical contempt of religion, and

an itching after licentiousness, dissipation, and luxury. We behold the grandees absorbed in gaming and debauchery, disregarding the commerce of their country, betraying its momentous interests to their mistresses and foreigners, and insulting over their fellow-subjects, in a dedication of themselves to court sun-shine. Contiguous to them, the house of commons arises next upon the stage: mercenaries, and pensioners prostituting the sanctity of their characters to private emolument, and arrogating to themselves, with an effrontery unparalleled in our annals, a power naturally invested with the constituents. To close the scene, our *canaille* is factious, turbulent, and riotous, and the slaves of intemperance and unruly appetites, sacrificing their votes to *Bacchus*, and then exclaiming against their betrayers. This was one situation from which the most dreadful alternative should be expected. When we fall under the stigma of *pari-deorum cultores*, and lose that awe religion should inspire, an annihilation must not be far distant. Yet, desperate as our case is on the counter-part, we have seen some individuals attempt, if not effect a cure. We have seen them nobly-singular exceptions to the general rule, stem the tide of venality. We have seen them disclaiming all sordid motives, actuated by a true zeal for their country, and sympathising for the public corruption, stand up as its deliverers, and boldly pitch upon a man for their representative—for what? Not for maintaining an expensive pageantry in his household; not for being emulous in the *beau monde*; not for the opulence, or any regard to his name, (though it ought to be a dear one to all) no; 'twas because he is known to be an honest, worthy, upright lover of his king and country. We have seen them, in defiance to the ministry, in gratitude for his uncorrupt con-

duct in life, elect him unanimously, without a farthing expence, without the least inclination from any one to receive a bribe. How truly glorious such a conduct, in a matter so important to the electors, to the elected! Say ye, that sip at *Hippocrene's* font, can the pen of panegyric exaggerate the merit of that day's eclat? What will be the consequence? They will find a man ever true, ever adhering to their interests, uncorruptible, inviolate; they will find one assiduous for his country's glory, for that city in particular; the activity of his prime hours spent in their service, the prayers of his old age offered for their prosperity.

Thus honourable will be the fruits of this significant conquest; a conquest attainable by us all, the duty of us all; our first wish is an equal representation, and a steady discharge of constitutional duty. Let us adopt the plan prescribed by the *Westminster* inhabitants, and the consequences are insured. Inducements to betray the deposits lodged with our representatives, will, at such a revolution in our manners, exist but in idea. The blessings of real liberty, at present a stranger to our habitations, will then be realized in enjoyment. Hence to the regions of discord, clamours, and complaints, from an angry mob. Hence to the realms of oriental despotism, tyranny and domination, from the imperious lord. So shall we, blessed with the possessions of universal honour to the brotherhood, reverential fear of God, and a proper respect to our king; so shall we be a brave and envied people; so shall we be "*orbis terrarum domini.*"

Your's,

CURIATIUS.

Newcastle, May 12, 1770.

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To

To the Right Worshipful the Mayor of N——le.

BEFORE your worship was placed at the head of those people, over whom you now have the honour to preside, your public principles flattered us with the most agreeable prospect of your honest and patriotic conduct. The favourable opinion we then entertained of your integrity and fortitude, to persevere in the common cause of public freedom, made your ascendancy to the office you now hold, highly satisfactory to the free burgesses.— But we have been miserably deceived. That same influence which had for some time grappled and swayed your predecessors in office, has, alas, operated so effectually upon your worship, as totally to dissipate all further hopes of your assistance in the public cause. We see, that with your office you have changed, or *apparently* changed, the dictates of your heart. As the time is now arrived, when every *Englishman* must arise and defend his own cause, I will not hesitate to pronounce him an enemy to his country who abjectly deserts it. The great object of the present contest is our natural birth-right, the right of election, which we will not surrender to “Parliaments, ministers, or kings.” A cause more important was never agitated in these kingdoms; nor has it been supported with more unanimity and spirit than by the independent free burgesses of this corporation; notwithstanding the united opposition of your worship, and the whole of your very honourable brethren of the bench.

In vain, Sir, are the endeavours of a few honest men in the two houses of parliament, if the people, as if dead to all sense of their country's good, remained silent and inactive: They may resist, but what can that avail, when a corrupt majority carries all before it. From such a parliament

ment we have nothing to expect, but that which no man would wish to survive, *the loss of freedom*. If there be any virtue in supporting the constitution of our country, by what name may we call that principle which actuates you to oppose it? It has certainly occurred to your worship, that your conduct tends only to screen from the royal ear the complaints of an injured people. Whether your services to administration will draw upon you honour or contempt, the divine monitor within you, must inform your worship. For my part, I think it might raise indignation in every breast, to see the most inhuman murderers, condemned by the laws of their country, suffered to live, and even rewarded; whilst, in a higher sphere, the most abandoned plunderers of millions of the public money, are wallowing in the spoils, and holding in the utmost contempt the very people whom they have so basely defrauded. All the wretched hirelings of the ministry have not been able to confute the charge. Truth holds up her mirror, and the multitude will not be deceived.

I do not mean to trouble your worship with a tedious recital of those grievances which the public have long most justly complained of; nor to commence an argument upon a subject which has already been so ably discussed.—If our endeavours, by petition and remonstrance, to obtain redress, should prove ineffectual, we shall have nothing to reproach ourselves with. As for the rectitude of our proceedings, we call God and men to witness; because, as we do not derive our liberty from those subtle distinctions, which places and pensions have invented; so are we resolved not to be deprived of it by them; on the contrary, as we owe it to the virtuous struggles of our ancestors, so will it be preserved by the virtuous efforts of their descendants.

ants.—For my part, I will never tamely surrender any right, which the God of nature has bestowed upon me, to any earthly power whatsoever: And whenever a natural inheritance is violently wrested from me, I shall never hesitate to recover it, though I perish in the attempt.

After all (laying aside every influence) I must tell your worship I have ever had a great opinion of the natural goodness of your heart.—But the Padlock deed will stink to all eternity.

Newcastle.

A FREEMAN.

Advice to the Freemen of Newcastle.

YOU have now seen a singular instance of the insolence of your present m—s of p—t, which you ought to keep fixed in your memory. They have had the assurance, after refusing your instructions to themselves, opposing your petition and remonstrance to the throne, to come and solicit your votes against the ensuing election. After they have made a most violent attempt to wrest from you your natural property, they have had the assurance to ask, in the most insolent manner, the honour of protecting your privileges: But will you ever entrust the rights of posterity to those men who had almost by robbery deprived you of the *Town-moor*? Are such persons qualified to protect the privileges of the free burgesses of *Newcastle*, who, in opposition to law and justice, last year, carried on a litigious law suit to have the Burgesses' patrimony in their own power? The creatures of *S. W. B.* and *M. R.* who are slaves to their oppressive mandates, may, for a present morsel of bread, sell their birthright, and

and forget the proceedings of last assizes, but can any freeman suffer such an attempt upon their dearest rights to slip out of their mind? It is impossible: They must be slaves who do it. *S. W. B.* must certainly have got the better of all the powers of modesty, decency, and decorum, who could approach the free burgesses to solicit their votes and interest so soon after his last year's behaviour. Gentlemen, he ought to have given you time to forget that injury he has already done. He most certainly thinks he has a privilege to do any thing; for no modest man could do what he has done you. What signs of repentance have you seen in the behaviour of this worthy baronet? Did he vote against the *Canada* bill, and shew his zeal against popery, by supporting the protestant interest in the province of *Quebec*? Or did he assent, or remain silent when the legislature was giving the most solemn sanction to the man of sin? Is he ready to set his hand to those rules which many of the free burgesses think essentially necessary for every member of parliament to subscribe? Nay, he will not even promise to do any thing, except what he pleases.—And yet he solicits your votes and interest.

You need not wonder, gentlemen, that some half-bred freemen who are gaping for the honour of a seat in the common-council, should prostitute the dictates of their own consciences to gratify their vanity. The public is no object to them; their narrow, selfish minds are contracted within the circle of private interest. Such would vote all *Britain* away to *France*, for the sake of a private reward. Men of this temper are fit tools to those who have power to model your magistracy, and exalt the most insignificant of the corporation to the highest honours therein. You
have

have undoubtedly heard of the most oppressive threatnings denounced against such as will not vote for *S. W. B.* and *S. M. R.* The husband, the wife, and children shall taste bread no longer, if they will not sell their votes to those dreadful basthaws? Is this the humane heart that feeds the hungry, and clothes the naked? Are these the conditions upon which *S. W. B.* feeds the poor, and relieves the distressed, that he may have their consciences at his command, and dictate forth slavery to them at his pleasure? But had he never injured you, such baits might have more easily caught the unwary; but upon the back of a manifest attack upon your birthright to ask your vote and interest, is daring impudence. Should any of the stewards of *S. W. B.* attempt to rob him of his property, would he permit him to be any longer steward? We may answer no. He would soon have to seek a new master. And where is the difference between his attempt to rob the burgesses, and that of his steward? He was no more than a steward to the freemen, as mayor for the time being.

Two gentlemen at your call have offered you their services, the one has been well tried as a patriot in the present sessions of parliament, and both are of the same principles with the independent free burgesses. They have declared their readiness to receive your instructions, and in all things approve of your principles. Captain *Phipps*, and Mr *Thomas Delaval* have declared you their sentiments freely, and are determined to support your rights; you ought therefore to remain steady to their interest, and beware of all seduction. Let neither fear nor reward shake your resolution, but mind the petition which you signed, and the hand you gave to them. Let *S. W. B.* and *S. M. R.* see what freemen can do, and what true friends of liberty

liberty can effect. The glister of gold-lace and gay clothing are empty bubbles. One freeman is as good as another in any attire. Be steady to your principles, and let the world see that you can chuse your own representatives freely, without bribe, or hope of any other reward but liberty and the enjoyment of your legal rights and privileges. Suffer the dupes of arbitrary power to take on their own burdens, and wreath their own chains about their necks, for the paltry enjoyment of a momentary relief; but remain you free; and ages to come have it to say, that there once lived in *Newcastle*, a race of men who were free and independent.

J U N I U S.

For the FREEMEN'S MAGAZINE.

To the Free Burgesses of *Newcastle*.

GENTLEMEN,

THE present occasion calls me forth; I feel as a freeman, and as a *Briton*, am constrained to speak! The important conjuncture draws the big emotion from my heart!

The comprehensive mind of Sir *Walter* himself, seems all impressed with the importance of this time; he feels what he never felt at an election; and he calls for attention to it.—And can the loyal soul of any elector be unmoved at his voice? Or the mind of any honest burgess be uninterested at this period?

When the dignity of virtuous *Britons* are set before my fellow burgesses, they will sure respect themselves too much to suffer any extraneous matter to take them from the regard they owe the present conjuncture: It is great!

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It is important ! It is no less than the supporting those privileges which were handed down to us by the blood of our ancestors ! And forbid it, ye renowned manes of men, who devoted themselves to the cause of liberty ? Forbid it venerated memory of every illustrious patriot, that any of your sons should be so ungenerous as to vote against the two supporters of our birthrights as *Englishmen* !—Give them your voice, and they will restore to you that consequence, which as Britons and free burgesses you have for five or six sessions of parliament lost.

Some timid souls indeed, think their honour or interest is so much at stake, as to wish that balloting instead of voting were the manner of collecting suffrages.—But, alas ! are party names, private interest, or public connections, to disconnect us from the interests of *Britain* ? Of *Britain*, which may boast of the equallest government, of the finest spirit—of the most exalted foundation of liberty—and of the highest produce from this establishment.

Impressed by such considerations, may every *Briton* temperately weigh, and calmly speak,—resolve by the integrity of his judgment, and the generosity of his vote, proving himself a worthy son of that nation, who has vouch-ed herself heiress of ancient glory—umpire of present sway—and bright example for future ages.

Let no son of *Britain* impede her to shine forth her real self.—It belongs to every free burgess of *Newcastle*, as such, now at this important time, to be superior to every kind of bribe, interest, or connection, and give their votes for *Phipps* and *Delaval*.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

Newcastle, July 18, 1774.

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Newcastle, July 21, 1774.

To the EDITORS of the FREEMEN'S MAGAZINE.

GENTLEMEN,

By inserting the following Extract from a Book lately published, you may alarm certain Peers not 100 Miles distant from Newcastle, that their late Behaviour, on a certain Canvass, may probably appear before an honest House of Commons; where it will not meet with the Fate of the following Petition.

A Petition of the right hon. Charles Sackville, commonly called earl of Middlesex, and the hon. William Hall Gage, Esq; was presented to the house, A. D. 1747, and read, setting forth, That at the last election of barons to serve in this present parliament for the town and port of Seaford, in the county of Sussex, the petitioners, together with the right hon. William Pitt, Esq; and William Hay, Esq; were candidates. That on the day before the said election, a noble peer of this realm did invite to, and entertain at his house, most of the voters of the said town and port; and in the room where they were assembled, spoke to them one by one, and did solicit and influence them, with respect to giving their votes at the the said election; by means whereof several persons, who had promised to vote, and would have voted for the petitioners, were prevailed upon by the said noble peer to vote for the said Mr Pitt and Mr Hay: Which proceeding the petitioners conceive is an high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the commons of Great-Britain. That on the day of election, in order to awe and influence the voters in favour of the sitting members, and deter them from voting for the petitioners, the said noble peer came into the court, accompanied by other peers of the realm; and being seated

near to the returning officer, did *continue* there untill the poll was closed; notwithstanding the *presence* of him, and the said other *peers* was objected to by one of the petitioners, and the returning officer applied to by him not to take the poll while the said peers remained present in the court. In all which the said petitioner thought himself fully justified, as he apprehended their *presence* obstructed the *freedom* of the election, and from the several declared resolutions of the house of commons, was a *violation* of the rights and privileges of the commons of *Great-Britain*; and that by these and other illegal practices the petitioners *lost* a great number of *votes*, which would otherwise have been given for the petitioners: And therefore praying the house to take the premises into consideration, and to grant the petitioners such relief as to the house shall seem meet. The house was moved, That the resolution of the 16th day of this instant, *November*, That it is an high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the commons of *Great Britain*, for any lord of parliament, or any lord lieutenant of any county to concern themselves in election of members to serve for the commons in parliament, might be read. And the same was read accordingly. A motion was made, and the question being put, That the matter of the said petition be heard at the bar of this house: Upon which a debate arose. In this debate, Mr *Pitt*, one of the sitting members, treated the petition with great *contempt*, and turned it into a mere *jest*."

On this occasion Mr *Potter* (son of the archbishop) spoke as follows: "Mr Speaker, I rise up to do myself justice: For as I look upon the matter contained in this petition to be of the utmost *importance* to the *honour* of the *house*, and even to the *existence* of *parliament*; and as to my very great
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amazement, I see this question treated with the greatest contempt and ridicule by an hon. gentleman, whose weight may perhaps persuade a majority to be of his opinion, I think I owe it to myself to declare my sentiments on this great occasion, by something more than the vote which I shall give. I hope, Sir, things are not yet come to such a pass, as to make it necessary for any man to go about to prove that the constitution is destroyed, whenever this house shall lose its *independency*. After all the noble struggles made in the house by great patriots, after all the laws passed by the legislature to preserve that independency, I should hope, that out of *decency*, as well as out of regard to truth, I may be allowed to argue upon that as upon an indubitable maxim. The representatives of the people, when they are chosen to that office, have been said to be *independent*, even on their *constituents*; how necessary then, Sir, is it for this house to take care that there be no *other* improper, or *corrupt dependency*? But, Sir, if the *ministers* are to be allowed to *nominate* to the burghs the persons who shall be their representatives, how are we to expect an *independent* parliament? That ministers may endeavour to subvert this independency, that they may think it even necessary to their own *security*, to corrupt parliament, we have too much reason to know. But, Sir, whatever pains former ministers may have taken for this purpose, what undue methods soever they may have used to gain to themselves a corrupt majority in this house, I believe history is not able to produce an instance equal to the present of a *wise* and *great statesman* taking upon himself the *honourable* employment of being an *agent* at a *burgh*. It was not enough to signify his commands by his underlings; It was not enough to solicit votes in his own person. The voters, it seems, could not
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be trusted out of his presence, and therefore, they were to be *attended* even to the *poll*. But, Sir, this great humility and condescension in a minister, would, in former times, have been construed a most notorious invasion of the rights of the people, and of the privileges of this house. And, Sir, what will the people say to us? Or what will they think of our independency, if we are not as jealous of *their* rights, and as tenacious of *our own* privileges as any of our predecessors have been? What will they think, Sir, if, after seeing one parliament dissolved in a new, unprecedented, I had almost said, an unconstitutional manner, they shall be told, that the ministers have been nominating their representatives in the next, even without the ceremony of a *conge d'elire*? But, Sir, still farther; What will they think, if they shall be told that this *proceeding* of the minister has been laid before the house of commons, and that the house of commons will not, or *dare not*, *censure* him? There have been times when no man was thought *too great* to be *accountable* to this house for his conduct; and I could give an instance even in my own memory of a great and able statesman, whose long administration was an honour and benefit to his country, and whose conduct this house thought fit to enquire into by the most severe scrutiny. When I first heard the petition read at your table, I could hardly believe it possible that the allegations it contained were founded upon *truth*. I expected to have heard the friends of the noble person who is the object of it, boldly *denying* the *charge*, and calling loudly upon the accusers to justify it; I was determined not to believe it, unless supported by the strongest proof. But, Sir, how great was my amazement when I heard an honourable gentleman [*W. Pitt, Esq.*] who was privy to the whole transaction, not only *admitting*

every

every fact alledged to be *true*, but openly *avowing* and attempting to justify them? In what light they may appear to him, Sir, he can best tell you. But to me it seems most manifest, that as the conduct complained of was the greatest *injury* that could be done to our *privileges*, the attempt to justify it is the greatest *insult* upon our *under standing*. In what other light, Sir, can it appear to us, than as the last and utmost effort of one who was determined, at any rate, to procure a *majority*, in this house, of persons attached to *himself*, his own creatures, the tools of his power? I wish to God, Sir, nothing may happen to-day, to give the people room to suspect that he has been *too successful*. What more could he have done? Or what greater insult is it possible for him to offer, unless he should come even within the walls of this house to direct our determinations? After what he has done, I should not wonder, Sir, if he did come and take that chair, and tell you, as we were told formerly, that your mace was a bauble, and that you should keep it only while you please him. Your *mace*, Sir, is a *bauble*, and so is every other *ensign of authority*, unless you can preserve your *independency*. A dependency upon the crown, Sir, would in the end prove fatal to our liberties; but a dependency upon the *minister*, as it is infinitely more *disbonourable*, is infinitely more *dangerous*. One might suppose, Sir, some *security* to a people from the honour of a crowned head, and from the solid *compacts* that are made between the *people* and their *sovereign*. I know of no compacts that are or can be made between a minister and the people. I can suppose too, Sir, that in some future time a minister may arise profligate enough to carry his views so high as to attempt to make both *king* and *people* *subservient* to his own ambition. I can imagine such a one,

Sir,

Sir, taking advantage of some general calamity or time of general confusion, by a *corrupt* parliamentary influence, oppressing even the *king* upon his throne, and making the crowned head a prisoner in his closet. I can imagine him, Sir, so blown up with folly and self-conceit, as to become a competitor even with those who shall be of royal blood for posts of dignity or titles of honour; and he may, Sir, (it is hardly possible indeed) but he may even prostitute the name of the crown to support his pretensions. This, Sir, I say is a picture which I can draw in my own mind of the miserable situation of this country, if ever the *parliament* should become dependent on a *minister*. But as this can never happen but in some time of general insatiation or general corruption, the wisdom and virtue of the present age scarce secure us from seeing it otherwise than in imagination: but, Sir, whatever I see, or whatever I feel, God forbid that by any act or vote of mine, I should make the way easy for such miseries to overwhelm any future generation. The honourable gentleman was pleased to say that this was a *new* case, and that there was no precedent upon our journals to guide our proceedings: but let it be remembered, that this can never be the case again, since the vote of to-day will remain upon our books an eternal precedent to posterity, and a law to this house for the future. For God's sake then, Sir, let us consider a little what sort of a law we are going to make; let us remember that if the present transaction passes uncensured, and is declared free from guilt, we may hereafter see every peer of parliament, every secretary and other officer of state, every chancellor of the exchequer, with his *treasury bags* under his arm, *attending* and *soliciting elections*; and when they shall be called upon in this house to justify their proceed-

ceedings, they shall tell you, they have done nothing but what they had a right to do, and that such was the opinion of this wise, this independent, this freely elected parliament. Sir, I am not one of those persons, who will ever be for extending the privileges of this house to any ridiculous or romantic degree: if I could but persuade myself that there was the least room to doubt upon this occasion, I should think that humanity obliged me to put the mildest construction. But really, Sir, I think the insult offered to the house is of so *flagrant* a nature, I think the *precedent* must prove so *dangerous* to the honour and *independency* of *parliament*, I think the consequences must be so destructive to the *constitution* as to deserve and demand the *severest* animadversion. The honourable gentleman was pleased to ask, What is the object of the petition? Sir, I will tell him what the object is; it is the *security*, the *freedom* of *parliaments*, and protecting the privileges of the *commons* of *Great-Britain*. Surely, Sir, from *this house* the *commons* of *Great-Britain* have a *right* to expect *justice*. Their most valuable privileges have been *trampled upon* and *insulted*, and they come now by this petition to demand *justice*: Justice, Sir, they will receive, and I hope *now*. But of one thing I am sure, that, *sooner or later*, they will have it." (The petition was dismissed by 247 against 96*.)

Habet quidem certe respublica adolescentes nobilissimos, paratos defensores. Quam volent illi cedant otio consulentes; tamen a republica revocabuntur. Et nomen pacis dulce est, et ipsa res salutaris. Sed inter pacem et servitutem plurimum interest. Pax est tranquilla libertas: Servitus malorum omni-

um postremum, non modo bello, sed morte etiam repellendum. C I C E R O.*

To the Free Burgesses of Newcastle upon Tyne.

Friends, Countrymen, and Brethren,

FOR in all these relations will I glory; whilst, in an age of general depravity and corruption, you so nobly stand forth the brave assertors of your own, and your country's rights and liberties: The part which many, (I doubt not but a great majority) of you have taken, will, if steadily adhered to, hand down your names with honour to the latest posterity; children yet unborn shall bless and revere your memory; future ages and distant communities applaud and emulate your conduct.

But now is the time my dear friends, or never, to shew yourselves men; your constancy, perseverance, and unanimity must, at this juncture, exalt you to the highest esteem of every true friend of liberty, of every good and virtuous man: or your wavering, inconstancy, and defection, sink you in the contempt, and expose you to the scorn and derision of insolent exulting tyrants.

As every art will be used to influence and corrupt you, and as possibly some amongst you may not put the proper value upon their own consequence, I hope you will excuse the warmth of my friendly expostulations; and happy should I be, could any efforts of mine excite your due attention.

* The public hath yet in store many noble youths, who are ready to defend her, whose regard to ease and quiet suppresses indeed their present vigour; but who may yet be reclaimed to the public cause. The name of peace indeed is pleasing, and the thing itself salutary; but there is a wide difference betwixt peace and slavery: Peace is calm, undisturbed liberty; slavery the last of all evils, and ought to be repelled not only by war, but by death itself.

tention to that inestimable privilege which you may enjoy as composing a part of the legislative power, and in deputing your representatives in the great council of the nation. From the want of this attention, flow many of those growing evils which have long threatened this country with utter ruin. With great truth an able writer has asserted, that "*England* can never be undone but by a parliament." And to the reproach of *Englishmen* be it said, that their own dependance, venality, and corruption have long and largely contributed to this undoing. That it is vain and idle to talk of bad representatives, when we constitute them such with our eyes open, delegate our power, and commit the protection of our rights to men whose private interests, prejudices, or passions, have notoriously abused the one, and basely betrayed the other; who instead of protecting, have oppressed us, and pretended to nothing of representation but the name; and even that, when examined with candour, is an affront to common sense.

But it is not yet too late to stop these threatening disorders. A crisis is now hastening, and your choice at an approaching period may have great influence in establishing your peace and happiness, or involving you in inevitable confusion and misery; for the eyes of the whole nation are upon you; many other bodies of electors will be animated by your perseverance, or discomfited by your retreat. Now is the time for you to examine with coolness and impartiality into the senatorial conduct of your present delegates, and upon what grounds they again offer themselves as candidates for your future confidence.

I will readily and chearfully allow every tribute of praise due to good actions, and would pay all proper regard and respect to every man's private virtues; nor will I pretend

to censure, or to judge of any man's motives when I see him diffuse blessings with a princely munificence: Yet I sincerely lament when I see that man's prejudices cherished and fostered, his ear abused, and his conduct misled, by unprincipled, fawning slaves, and designing hypocrites; some of them indeed, cunning and subtle enough, but others, to the great reproach of his judgment, almost destitute of common sense: The influence of such vermin as these plucks the best graces from actions, which otherwise might do honour to royalty itself.

But even allowing him all the real merit which panegyric can bestow, or his fulsome flatterers would attribute to him, he may be entitled to the sincere respect of his fellow citizens, and to the esteem of very good men, who may, notwithstanding, repose no confidence in him as a legislator. Before I give any man my suffrage, it behoves me to enquire into the principles and motives which have formed, marked, and distinguished his political character; for in giving such suffrage I am acting for others, as well as myself, and may not prostitute the public service to any private views, mere local considerations, or personal regards whatever; nor should any particular tie of interest, gratitude, or affection, preclude, in this case, my *liberty of judging*.

A very slender acquaintance with history will shew the essential connexion between the liberties, and the true glory, welfare, and happiness of any people. When the civil and religious liberties of this nation were first encroached upon, and then openly invaded by the vile race of the *Stuarts*, what scenes of tumult and confusion, what massacres and bloodshed were produced, through above half of the last century?—And what better consequences have

we to expect from the late alarming strides of ambitious and designing men, whose only security seems to be placed in the general want of public virtue; so sensible are they of this, that they have been labouring with all their might to suppress and extinguish every spark of it. But how great, or how general soever their success may have been, that is no reason for a good man tamely to acquiesce. No, my friends!—I trust there may yet be *Hamdens* and *Sidneys*, whose lives may be at their country's service, and pray God such men may be properly roused before their help be too late.

What mischiefs were done in the æra I have just mentioned, were chiefly in opposition to parliament; what is now attempted, your nominal representatives are aiding and assisting in; whether from principle or influence, no matter: Nor boots it to enquire by what magic charms those interests which jarred with such well-remembered violence in the year 1741, are now so graciously united.—The independance of some, with an acquired popularity, may do more real harm, than the crouching servility of others. The prejudices of education, even those of the most baneful tendency, often grow into fixed principles; and the lust of power, the more it is fed, flames with greater violence; and I appeal to the experience of any man, who is at all conversant in the world, whether the late measures of administration have met with more determined advocates, than are the professed papists, jacobites, and non-jurors? Whether the plan of such men be to recall the *Pretender*, or to set up any other standard of arbitrary power, I care not; the idolatry is the same, whatever the idol be; and the writer of this will ever join, at the hazard of his life, to oppose it, and will advise his fellow burgessees to satisfy themselves
how

how far their present candidates, or those great and fine men, who would take your prostituted consciences into keeping for them, have been the abettors, aiders, and propagators of these despotic principles.—How far they have contributed to stem the raging, corrupted torrent of ministerial tyranny.—Whether after once, by mistake, they had acted right, they were not deprived of peace by day and rest by night, until they had atoned for their error by making a formal, penitential, and public renunciation of it.—In their present canvas, do they apply to your principles, to your virtues, for your regards to the public welfare, or to your private emoluments and dependencies? Has the voice of truth been attended to, or its assertors slandered—persecuted, and proscribed? Has your skill, diligence, and fidelity in your several professions and employments recommended you to their approbation and encouragement? Has fairness, equity, and moderation in your dealings secured to you their custom; or have they directly or indirectly intimated, that, along with your wares, your consciences should go like paper and pack-thread? Have they ever held the greatest number of you in contempt; as a factious, licentious crew; as a different species of beings, void of reason, and incapable of reflection? Have they ever endeavoured to alienate your rights and properties to engross them into the hands of a few of their own complexion; or have they, with such view endeavoured to prevent the efficacy of your appeal to a court of justice? Other questions you may ask in your own minds; but if you can answer these, so as to acquit them of any abuse of your confidence, or of any design to enslave you, they have a right to expect your free and cheerful voices; but if either without examination, or against all

fair

fair enquiry, you foolishly or wickedly give your suffrages, you will scarcely be pitied whilst you drag those galling chains which yourselves have rivetted.

CASSIUS.

On the Constitution, and particularly on Parliaments.

IF it were possible for any man, who hath the least knowledge of our constitution, to doubt in good earnest, whether the preservation of public freedom depends on the preservation of parliamentary freedom, his doubts might be removed, and his opinion decided. One would imagine, by this single obvious remark, that all the designs of our princes against liberty, since parliaments began to be established on the model subsisting, have been directed constantly to one of the following points: Either to obtain such parliaments as they could govern, or else to stand all the difficulties, and to run all the hazards of governing without parliaments. The means principally employed to the first of these purposes, have been undue influences on the elections of members of the house of commons, and on these members when chosen. When such influence could be employed successfully, they have answered all the ends of arbitrary will; and when they could not be so employed, arbitrary will hath been forced to submit to the constitution. This hath been the case, not only since, but before that great change in the balance of property, which began in the reigns of *Henry VII.* and *Henry VIII.* and carried a great part of the weight into the scale of the commons, which had lain before in the scale of the peers and clergy.

If we look back as far as the close of the fourteenth century, (an æra pretty near to that when parliaments received their present form) we shall find both these means employed by one of the worst of our kings, *Richard II.* That he might attain his will, which was rash, he directed mandates to the sheriffs, (officers of the crown, and appointed by the crown; for such they were then, and such they still are) to return certain persons nominated by himself, and thus he acquired an undue influence over the elections. In the next place, he obliged the persons thus returned, sometimes by threats and terror, and sometimes by gifts, to consent to those things which were prejudicial to the realm; and thus he acquired an undue influence over the house of commons: so that, upon the whole, the arbitrary will of a rash, head-strong prince, and the suggestions of his wicked ministers, gilded the proceeding of parliament, and became the law of the land. I might pursue observations of the same kind, through several succeeding reigns, but to avoid prolixity, let us descend at once to the reign of king *Charles II.* for in that we shall find examples of all the means which a court that hath common sense, and a prince who will not set his crown on the cast of a die, can take to undermine the foundations of liberty, either by governing parliaments, or governing without them.

Now the first attempt which king *Charles* made against the constitution was this: He improved and managed the spirit of the first parliament he called, so as to render the two houses obsequious to his will almost in every case; and having got the triennial bill repealed, he kept the same parliament in being for many years by prorogations. Thus he established a standing parliament, which is as dangerous

gerous as a standing army, and may become, in some conjunctures, much more fatal to liberty. When the measures of his administration grew too bad, and the tendency of them too apparent to be defended and supported, even in that parliament, he had recourse to a second attempt, that was to corruption: And *Clifford* first listed a mercenary band of friends to the government against the constitution; and when even this proved ineffectual, the king resolved to govern for a time without parliaments, and in the mean time endeavour to garble the corporations. He had found, by experience, that it was impossible to corrupt the streams as long as the fountain continued pure. He applied himself therefore to spread the taint of the court in them, and to poison those springs from whence the health and vigour of the constitution flow. This was the last, and by much the most dangerous expedient, employed by king *Charles's* confidential friends, to undermine our liberties. The effect of this he did not live to see.

The farther attempt on our religion and liberty, by king *James*, brought about the revolution; the design, intention, or ends of which, have yet by no means been accomplished. The nation engaged in it with the just expectation that the *freedom of elections*, the *frequency*, *integrity* and *independency* of parliaments, should be sufficiently provided for. These are the essentials of *British* liberty. Defects in other parts of the constitution, can never be fatal, if these be preserved entire: But defects in these will soon destroy the constitution, though every other part of it should be so preserved.

(To be continued.)

For the FREEMEN'S MAGAZINE.

THE unprincipled friends of the court candidates, who lately were remarkable for censuring the parliamentary conduct of our representatives, and the conduct of our magistrates, are now as diligent in perverting the burgesses, by reminding them of the great obligations they are under to Sir *W——r B——tt*, and threatening them, if they find them immoveably virtuous. They ridicule the conscientious, and are surprised to hear them talk so foolishly, bestowing upon them the names of mad men and of fools. Let the freemen be upon their guard against such insidiousness: Be manly; be resolved. And though they threaten you with the loss of your bread, let them see that you have so much virtue as to dispise their threats: Satisfied that he who feeds the ravens will also feed you. Publish, in the news-papers, the names of those who would tyrannize over your conscience. They cannot be the friends of either religious or civil liberty. They are the enemies of mankind.

Mr R**d may assure himself, that if he again promise or threaten the beadies of a certain church, not many miles from *St Nicholas*, he shall not go uncensured. The poorest burghefs has a natural right to vote as he pleases, and he is a knave or a villain that would prevent him.

A Hater of Tyranny.

Account of the Transactions at the County Meeting at Morpeth, July 26, 1774.

AT a general meeting of the freeholders of *Northumberland*, held at *Morpeth*, on *Tuesday, July 26*, by Sir *William*

William Lorraine, high-sheriff, to consider of two proper persons to represent the county in the next parliament, the two present members having declined, there was the most numerous and respectable assemblage of gentlemen ever remembered on the like occasion.

The business was opened by the high-sheriff, in a speech equally judicious and well expressed.—The purport was as follows: “ That he had called that meeting in consequence of a declaration from the two present members, signifying their intention of declining the honour they at present enjoyed.—He said that he had received a letter from *Sir Edward Blackett*, to that purpose, containing his grateful thanks to the gentlemen then assembled, for their favour, which had placed him in his present honourable situation, assigning his want of health as the reason he no longer solicited their support; but at the same time thought, that the best method of expressing his sense of the obligation he felt himself under to the county, was, by assuring them of his determination to give his vote and interest for those gentlemen who had the approbation of that meeting.—The sheriff then went on, observing, That as he perceived from the number of candidates to supply the intended vacancies, that there was likely to be a contest, he was happy to see a meeting so truly respectable as the present, to determine a question of such great importance. He added, That from the complexion of his audience, it did not appear to him necessary to expatiate upon the qualities requisite to fill so high a station as that of an independent *English* senator; he should content himself, therefore, with submitting to their judgment the names of the four gentlemen, who meant to propose themselves on the present occasion.

Mr *Ridley* then rose, and in very few words, expressive of his high opinion of Lord *Algernon Percy*, founded entirely on his great line of ancestry, which had for so great a series of years, uninterruptedly represented the county, begged to have the honour of proposing his lordship as a candidate.

Sir *William Middleton* next addressed himself to the freeholders, and acquainted them, " That at the request of many friends, for whose opinion he had the highest respect, and whose principles he had always been taught to revere from his earliest youth, he had stepped forward to offer his service to the county, at this juncture." He declared himself a disinterested and independent man, disavowing in the most explicit terms, every aspiring and ambitious view. Standing upon this ground, he called upon every unbiassed freeholder to support him as a candidate, so long and no longer than he maintained such principles.—He said, That this was the first time he had ever asked a vote from any freeholder; that he had anxiously waited to receive the sense of the county at that meeting, which, should it prove fortunately in his favour, would so far determine him, that he should esteem himself bound, and pledged himself in case of opposition, to carry the matter to a poll, that the freeholders might have an opportunity of exercising a free choice."—This speech, which came from the heart, and was plainly dictated by an honest feeling, was received with astonishing and repeated plaudits.

After him Sir *John Delaval* arose, and in a long, elaborate, and florid harangue, endeavoured to impress the freeholders with the same ideas of his public spirit, independency, and disinterestedness; on which last topic he particularly dwelt, thinking himself attacked by Sir *William* in a point,

in which he appeared *tender*. He enlarged much too on his family connections with the county as representatives, which had subsisted even from the first institution of parliaments. He told the freeholders too, that himself was an experienced and able man; and, to do him justice, he sang his own praises in a strain, far—very far beyond the powers of any gentleman there present. He told them, “That their corn, their wool, their leadmines, their iron works, their linen, their glass-houses, their shipping, their fisheries, and the coal trade, had been his incessant and invariable objects, ever since he could think for himself, or act for his constituents; that it was the height of his ambition to represent such a county, and for that great object, he had very readily quitted the representation of every other place.” [Here we suppose he meant his borough of *Berwick*.] He at length concluded, by passing the highest encomiums on the meeting, which he justly termed a most respectable assembly of freeholders, and by requesting their votes and countenance. No applause.

Mr *Fenwick* next, in a short speech, explained to the freeholders the motives of his offering himself to represent them; which originated in the advice of many friends to the independency of the county: who, from every appearance, thought the measure absolutely necessary; for that an attempt was now plainly intended to force two members upon them: He hoped, therefore, for the sake of their own interest, and to protect the freedom of the county, that they would support him as an independant candidate.—This declaration, which every man present felt to be the truth, was received with great and just applause.

Sir *Walter Blackett* was the next who spoke; he said only shortly, that for his own part he thought Lord *Algernon Percy*

Percy and *Sir John Delaval* were the properest persons to represent the county; he repeated that he thought so, for *particular reasons*, into which he begged to be excused from entering: he said again, two or three times, he had reasons which *he did not chuse to give*; and hoped the gentlemen would pardon him for not giving them, and then sat down. This strange declaration, luckily for *Sir W.* amidst the variety of other matter, escaped without notice or censure.

No other gentleman seemed then inclined to speak, and the high sheriff was proceeding to put the candidates in nomination, when *Mr George Greive* got up and addressed the sheriff to the following effect:

He said, that he meant on the present occasion to claim, but with the utmost diffidence, that right which reverted to him but once in seven years, of delivering his opinion as became an honest *English* freeholder; he then proceeded in a very pointed and spirited manner to declare, that for reasons, *which he did not beg to be excused from giving*, but would then give face to face, he was clear that neither *Ld Algernon Percy* nor *Sir John Delaval* deserved to be supported by the county; for that, after his Grace of *Northumberland* had given his solemn promise not to interfere in the choice of another member, if the gentlemen to whom he had applied would honour his son with their support, he had actually interfered as far as he could possibly have done, even had he *openly* from the beginning espoused the interest of *Sir John*; for that it was not to be supposed that the noble peer in any case would have canvassed *Rothbury, Felton, or Alnwick* in person, but that *his* immediate agents had been notoriously the agents and managers for *Sir John*, from the first moment that the
baronet

baronet had paid him compliments to the *great men* of the county. And here he desired that any gentleman would call him to order, if he deviated in the smallest degree from the truth. He waited to see if any body would be hardy enough to deny the charge; but no person having been found so totally deficient in every point of truth and modesty, he proceeded, by observing that he had other capital objections to Sir *John Delaval*, some of which he would mention;—he then arraigned in terms equally just and severe, the conduct of Sir *John*, in having made application near two years ago, to a cabal of *great men* of the county, without once troubling himself about the freeholders at large, or even the *unconnected, independent* country gentlemen; that he had heard *great men* expressing their surprise at Sir *William Middleton*'s conduct, in offering himself so early to *disturb the peace* of the county, when it was notorious that the greatest man in it had openly solicited for his son a twelvemonth before him; and all steps had been taken by Sir *John*, clandestinely to seize the interest of every gentleman whom he had found napping; and had, (much to their dishonour) surprised many unwary, indolent *great men* into promises which disgraced them as *freemen*.—In all this part of his speech he was so clear and convincing, that he was frequently interrupted by bursts of applause.

He next attacked Sir *John* upon his ungenerous behaviour at *Newcastle*, and his conduct to his brother, in endeavouring to dissuade him from going there to support the interest of the oppressed and injured freemen. He stated that behaviour in the clearest manner, and to the conviction of every candid hearer; but 'tis impossible to enter into the whole of a speech that lasted half an hour, and contained

ed such variety of matter. The charge against Sir *John* was plain and pointed;—and we shall now hear how it was answered.—Sir *John* got up, and said, that he did not doubt that he should obviate every objection which had been raised against him by Mr Greive: He made a very long speech, wherein he partly repeated his letter to his brother, and acknowledged that his brother had signified his determination to *serve the burgeses of Newcastle*; yet, he did not understand by that, nor indeed ever dreamt of his *intending to stand a candidate*:—But he gave no answer to the first charge against him, except by assuring the freeholders that it was not quite *two years*, as had been asserted, since he had asked the votes of the noblemen and *great men* in the county; and indeed, the whole of his reply to that part of the accusation, was to the last degree unsatisfactory and evasive: And to the other part respecting the *Newcastle* business, he gave not the shadow of an answer which did not tend to confirm the charge: Inso-much, that in Mr Greive's reply, he set out by thanking him for so full a confirmation of every thing he had alleged against him, and of this opinion was every candid man at the meeting. This matter being thus discussed, the sheriff proceeded to the nomination; Lord *Algernon Percy* was first put up, when to the amazement of every one, there were very few hands for his lordship. Sir *William Middleton* was then proposed, and had an amazing shew, attended with the greatest acclamations; Sir *John Delaval* had not 20 hands for him; and Mr *Fenwick* nearly the same shew as Sir *William*, and much applause. Upon which the sheriff was proceeding to make the declaration, when Sir *John Delaval* got up, and made a discovery which had *hitherto* escaped him, and said, there were many persons pre-

sent not freholders, and therefore made no doubt he should have *the shew of hands* on a poll, and rather indecently vilified the meeting, which before the event he had so highly extolled.

Mr G. Greive then very properly called him to order; when Mr W. Lowes attempted the same language, which was in every respect most highly unbecoming, and reflecting on the sheriff:—he was soon silenced, however, by Mr *Brandling*. The sheriff then made the declaration in favour of Sir *William Middleton Bart.* and *William Fenwick, Esq.*

Mr G. Greive then said, he hoped that in one point at least they should be unanimous; and therefore moved the thanks of the meeting to their very worthy and excellent high sheriff, which was seconded by Mr *Brandling*, and accordingly unanimously approved of. The meeting then broke up;—we may guess how much to the satisfaction of every independent man, and how much the reverse to those men, who would rule the county with a rod of iron. The Duke of Northumberland, Lord Ravensworth, &c. were in town, but not present.—In all probability this will prove a second Sir J. Lowther's affair; and will turn out, if the freeholders exert a proper spirit, to the disgrace of those men, who by grasping at the shadow, it is to be hoped, will lose the substance.

To the Editors of the Freeman's Magazine.

GENTLEMEN,

AS numbers of your readers may be at a loss to account for the *seemingly* unaccountable conduct of several of those very *respectable* personages, who, contrary to reason

and common sense, have given up their opinions; and, from being supporters of the principles of honest independancy, are now become the servile attendants of those very men, whose many arbitrary actions were the constant topic of their conversation; I shall therefore send you occasionally, some historical anecdotes of those surprising men.

Foremost in this honourable class, stands the noble and reverend, the *Vicar of Bray*, *custos rotulorum* of the *Scale-Cross*, and Eves-dropper to the vestry of *All Saints*. This worthy gentleman is a very *Proteus* in story: He was originally intended to be a dealer in books; but it was quickly found, that all the learning his shallow talents enabled him to comprehend in this business, was a bare inspection of their covering, without a possibility of his ever being able to digest any part of their contents. He therefore wisely dropt the stationer and submitted to take upon him the less polite profession of a tinker, and it must be allowed, that according to what has since happened, he has hammered the bottoms of pans to tolerable purpose; for having received an order from the chief magistrate, to put his wo—p's kettles *in statu quo*, it had so wonderful an effect on his prericanium, as entirely to disorder his senses; and in the heat of his frenzy, he ran and gave his voice to those men, whose conduct he had so often arraign'd, and whose characters he had so frequently abused in the vulgarest terms. So great a conquest from the cause of freedom was not to be passed unnoticed or unrewarded; having therefore previously taken his degrees, he was, by his new patrons, inducted into the vicardom abovementioned; and his enemies themselves must allow, that he fills his new occupation with a *becoming* dignity. It is

apprehended that charity was the sole motive of his appointing the person he has chosen to be his curate; for he is so totally enveloped in ignorance and superstition, that 'tis as evident as any proposition in *Euclid*, that the minutest ray of reason never penetrated his occiput, nor occiput; but as it would be pity to draw this helpless creature from that state of obscurity, which seems best calculated for his *solid capacity*, we shall leave him, and return to our worthy vicar.

Certain it is, that riches are not always accompanied with contentment; such I am sure, is the case with our new clergyman, for though he may be said to wallow in the wealth arising from his benefice, it affords him no true delight: Being deserted by his former companions, he endeavours to form a new acquaintance amongst the party he has espoused; how it happens, I know not, yet true it is, they are not fond of him as a companion; the party he has deserted, most heartily despise him, and will not allow him to mix with them in their convivial meetings; so that he is frequently reduced to the terrible necessity of spending his evenings over a solitary tankard, or with his curate, to retire to some obscure alehouse, and talk politics to old women.—Indeed he has of late sacrificed so liberally at the shrine of *Bacchus*, that his patrons would do well to restrict him, lest his perseverance in the *only action* he ever was steady in, may prevent his being able to do them the *only service* he can ever possibly be of to them—the giving them his VOTE.

(To be continued.)

COMUS.

A PARODY on CHEVY CHACE.

GOD prosper long our noble king,
Our lives and safeties all.

A woful canvass once there did
In this great town befall,

To meet the freemen at each hall
Sir *W—r* took his way ;
But O ! he sure has cause to rue
The grief he met that day.

Sir *W—r* and Sir *M——w* too,
A vow to God did make,
Their pleasure round *Newcastle* town
Six summer days to take.

The votes and rights of each freeman
To seize and take away.
The tidings came to Captain *Phipps*,
In *London* where he lay,

Who sent Sir *W—r* present word
He would prevent his sport :
Sir *W—r* he not fearing this,
Did to each house resort,

With five score of pensioners
And placemen in their train,
Who knew full-well by craftiness
Sir *W—r*'s love to gain.

They swiftly ran into each house,
Each freeman's vote to take,
And with their noise and mighty din,
An echo shrill did make.

They canvass'd thus from house to house
For full six days or more ;

But

But they met with such poor success,
It griev'd their hearts full sore.

Then Captain *Phipps*, he did appear
Much like a baron bold,
With conscience pure, for he the rights
Of *Englishmen* ne'er sold.

Brave *Delaval*, he likewise did
With Captain *Phipps* come down ;
And when they canvass'd, both were with
The greatest success crown'd.

When they had reap'd their harvest here,
Sir *W—r* with his train,
As likewise did Sir *M——w* too,
Glean o'er the town again.
But after gleaning all the day,
The town being left so bare,
They found, which griev'd them all full sore,
That little was their share.

God save the king, and bless the land
In plenty, joy, and peace;
Grant that Sir *W—r* and his train
From canvassing may cease.

EXULTING pleasure to this injur'd nation,
To see those servants sign their resignation ;
Who being conscious of their own demerit,
Have labour'd to subdue that *British* spirit,
Which has for ages in the trying hour,
Destruction brought on arbitrary power.
They reason thus, Can men of our complexion,

Who durst destroy the *Middlesex* election,
 And spite of all the laws of earth and heaven,
 Make *two* a greater number than *eleven*:
 Can we expect *Britannia's* sons will trust
 These laws with us, who have been so unjust?
 No, we must publish that we cannot serve,
 To shun the shame we very well deserve;
 No more let's hope that we'll again be seated,
 By those electors we so vilely treated;
 We fawn'd and cring'd to ministerial sway,
 And basely gave our masters rights away.

Such be the language, such the expectation,
 Of all who voted to enslave a nation;
 Of free born souls, who will as sure as fate,
 Their glorious freedom to their sons translate. J. W.
Hexham, *The*

The CONFERENCE.

AS Death and the Devil, sworn foes to mankind,
 Held private confab, each disclosing his mind;
 Says Nick, brother Death, (with all hell fir'd state)
 Our imports from *England* are d ———'d thin of late;
 The gallows formerly gave us part lumber,
 And suicide gamesters we'd a brave number;
 But with their curst pensions and places at court,
 I doubt, my good brother, they've spoil'd all that sport:

* *Indorcers* a few, we had sent now and then,
 Yet I have not seen one, I cannot tell when;
 Tho' this reflection oft cures me of sorrow,
 I mean when the dogs were sing'd at *Gomorrow*.
 Why have you not heard, Master Barebones reply'd,
 Our friends at the helm, there all laws have defy'd,

* *Indorser* is a polite term of the ladies for a Sodomite.

And

And G—dy, I find, has fixt resolution,
 Next year, like the pope, to give absolution.
 Say you so,—then after all our turmoilings,
 At last there are hopes of more *Smithfield* brailings :
 His *oath*, I foresaw, he surely would sh—t on,
 When plac'd at first, on the th—e of *Great-Britain*,
 And purposely sent him my agent, the *thane*,
 Whoever to honesty has been the *bane* ;
 With a few old staunch rogues, to give him advice,
 Least his conscience, at first, prov'd squeamish and nice.
 But mark ye, as sure as my name is Nichol,
 I've put, for their backs, my best rods in pickle ;
 And kings too shall find, I regard not their pelf,
 Nor ever will suffer a rogue but myself.

Hellgate, 31st night.

DÆMONIUM.

*On Capt. PHIPPS and THOMAS DELAVAL, Esqrs.
 meeting the Company of Free Hosts, on their Canvass.*

AFTER waiting an hour for the governor's coming,
 From the funeral rites of another old woman,
 At length he arrived, and with hobbling grace,
 He bow'd all around, and pass'd on to his place ;
 Of hoastmen whole hosts were conven'd together,
 In spite of their fears, and the heat of the weather.

The candidates then were requested to enter,
 And face their assembly, if that they durst venture ;
 The *Tar* shot a-head, and his comrade steer'd after,
 We follow'd, expecting much fun and much laughter ;
 Their speeches were noble, none ever excell'd 'em,
 With terror their audience heard and beheld 'em ;
 The language was elegant, nervous, and clear,
 The charges were just, and the satire severe.

An alderman's conscience began to feel sore.
 So he bounced from his seat, to the midst of the floor ;
 His voice was discordant, his features distorted,
 He said he'd been slandered and falsely reported :

Then

Then talk'd of his dignity, character, place,
 Clench'd his fist, bit his lip, and made a wry face;
 But in spite of his raving, 'twas generally admitted,
 His worthip discover'd how well the cap fitted.

An obstreperous banker, and justice of quorum,
 Gave mouth both together, in spite of decorum;
 The bye-standers stared, and began to suppose,
 That for fun they were treading on each others toes;
 For the banker was stamping, and dancing, and roaring,
 The justice seem'd pinch'd, and was deeply deploring.
 At last it appear'd, beyond all contradiction,
 They thought making a noise, always carried conviction;
 And whenever sore press'd in their own vindication,
 That stamping and thumping were argumentation.

A sniveling lawyer next open'd his throat,
 In a string of set phrases he'd got off by rote,
 Full of nonsense, loquacity, airs, and grimaces;
 Like *Frenchman* he chatter'd, bow'd, shrug'd, and made
 faces;

Talk'd much of the many and imminent dangers,
 That would surely ensue if we voted for strangers;
 He still would have talk'd, but the fates had decreed,
 That thus far, and no farther, his tongue should proceed:
 His petulance longer *Phipps* chose not to brook,
 But darted full at him a terrific look;
 A look was sufficient, the barrister bow'd
 Beg'd pardon, and instantly mix'd with the croud.

What follow'd, I shall not attempt to relate,
 For in rhyme one can hardly describe a debate.
Phipps and *Delaval* both, themselves nobly acquitted.
 And some fitters, I'm sure, were confoundedly fitted.

SAGITTARIUS.

